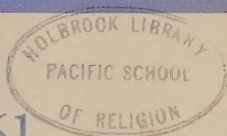


ANDOVER NEWTON QUARTERLY



September, 1961

THE GOSPEL AND THE POST-CHRISTIAN MAN *Herbert Gezork*

ONHOEFFER'S INFLUENCE IN GERMANY *Eckhard Minthe*

REVIEWS

Handy on Cragg
Freer on Katherine Ferré
Herron on Nels Ferré
MacLennan on Gupstill
Marney on Pearson

Andover Newton Theological School

Newton Centre, Massachusetts

THE ANDOVER NEWTON QUARTERLY

OLD SERIES, VOL. LIV, No. 1 SEPTEMBER, 1961 NEW SERIES, VOL. 2, No. 1

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The Andover Newton Quarterly, founded September, 1960, continues the Andover Newton Bulletin, which was first issued in January, 1906. It is distributed to ministers of the American Baptist and the Congregational Christian churches in New England and, on a national basis, to denominational officials, many candidates for the ministry, seminaries belonging to the American Association of Theological Schools, most college and university libraries, college and university chaplains, alumni of Andover Newton at home and abroad, students, trustees, and many friends of the School. It seeks to serve its constituency each academic year by providing four issues dealing with matters of theological concern.

Andover Theological Seminary was founded at Andover, Massachusetts in 1807 as a school for Congregational ministers and was one of the first Protestant graduate schools of theological studies in the United States. The Newton Theological Institution was founded at Newton, Massachusetts, in 1825 as a Baptist seminary, one of the oldest Baptist seminaries in America. Since 1931 both institutions have been affiliated under the name of Andover Newton Theological School and as one institution have carried on their work at the Newton Centre site. Although the School normally looks to the Baptist and Congregational Christian churches for its students and support, no doctrinal or sectarian restrictions are imposed on either staff or students, and qualified students of many different denominations are welcomed and are in attendance. It offers courses leading to the degrees of Bachelor of Divinity, Master of Religious Education, and Master of Sacred Theology.

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Editorials

THE PROPHET FROM NAZARETH

To all graduates of liberal seminaries (and to many of schools of conservative bent) Morton Scott Enslin (Newton '22) is known as the author of *Christian Beginnings*, of *The Ethics of Paul*, and of many illuminating articles and reviews in such ministers' journals as *Religion in Life* and *The Pulpit*. To those of us who teach in seminaries he is known as a scholars' scholar, a mentor to whom we are deeply indebted for contributions, models of research, to such media of theological learning as the *Harvard Theological Review* and the *Jewish Quarterly Review*; for the perspicacity, patience, and polymathy he has brought to his duties as editor, for many years of the *Crozer Quarterly*, and recently of the *Journal of Biblical Literature*; and for incisive criticism and generous encouragement when we have laid our own projects before him for counsel.

Enslin's latest book—*The Prophet From Nazareth**—is the work of the scholar as an interpreter and teacher of New Testament history and theology to non-specialists. The author's scholarship is apparent behind every paragraph and back of every judgment—apparent to anyone who has worked seriously with his sources—but it is so marvelously unobtrusive that it never interferes with the pleasure of reading.

Although the author disclaims any attempt at writing a "Life of Jesus" (the gospels are theological, not historical, documents!), he succeeds as few others have done in giving the reader a "clear picture of the sort of man [Jesus] was, of his fundamental concern for and his complete dedication to what he passionately believed God's will for him and his fellows to be, and of the tremendous influence he exerted."

The "theological" English of Enslin's writing has the same delightful simplicity, clarity, and vigor that Johannes Weiss was able to perfect in his "theological" German. Many pungent phrases will be stored up for future use: "the orthoëpic monstrosity, 'Jehovah'"; pronouncements based on the "Dead Sea Scrolls"

**The Prophet From Nazareth*, by Morton Scott Enslin. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1961. Pp. 221. \$4.95.

are often suggestive of "‘a pyramid balanced on its apex’"; Jesus' "careless hobnobbing at table with publicans and harlots gained for him the name, ‘a gluttonous man and a winebibber,’ that is, he ate too heartily, drank too freely, and kept very disreputable company."

If I were with Enslin in his summer study on Cape Cod, I should wish to argue a few points with him. Among them would be his hypothesis that originally the movements that owe their beginnings to John the Baptist and to Jesus were unrelated; the gospel tradition to the contrary is due to the attempt of Christians to "bring a later generation of followers of the Baptist into their ranks by the claim that John had been but the conscious forerunner of their crucified Lord." If I were rash enough to translate my wish to dispute into an attempt at rebuttal, I should either be re-educated, as I have often been in the past, or disarmed by reference to the words on p. 148 of the book: "These conclusions . . . are offered with far less certainty than their, at times necessarily brief and highly simplified, statement might imply."

Enslin's book ranks in importance with Bornkamm's *Jesus of Nazareth* and Cullmann's *The Christology of the New Testament* and serves at many points to correct the distorted perspectives that limit the usefulness of these recent studies.

Those who might be tempted to prejudge (and therefore misjudge) *The Prophet of Nazareth* on the basis of previous conceptions (or misconceptions) of its author's point of view are hereby requested to yield not to that temptation, for such yielding would be sin. They might begin their reading with the final chapter, a chapter which is a happy demonstration that sound learning and true piety can kiss each other and from which I quote the concluding sentences:

Jesus is not dead, can never die. He was never placed in any tomb, but has lived in the hearts and lives of millions of men and women to whom he is endlessly calling, demanding that they follow with him to the only goal.

PROPHET FROM FINKENWALDE AND THE TEGEL PRISON

Since President Gezork makes reference to Dietrich Bonhoeffer in his Commencement Sermon in this issue and Eckhard Minthe's article deals with him *in extenso*, some of our readers

might be interested in a brief and selective Bonhoeffer bibliography. (Only works available in English are cited.)

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To Mr. Bethge go our thanks for permission to use the photographs that accompany Eckhard Minihe's contribution to the current *Quarterly*. (see pp. 25-28.)

The Gospel and the Post-Christian Man

HERBERT GEZORK

We preach Christ crucified, unto the Jews a stumbling block,
and unto the Greeks foolishness. (I Corinthians 1:23)

These words were written by the greatest missionary of Christianity at a time when the Christian gospel was in the first stage of its irresistible march across the ancient world. The Good News of Christ answered to a deep need: men and women, weary of the futile search for God through the labyrinthian ways of the ancient philosophical systems, their souls unfed by the pagan religions, opened their hearts joyously to these wonderful tidings of a God who loved them, of a Saviour who had died for them, of a new fellowship in which there was to be neither Jew nor Greek, neither slave nor free, but all would be one in Him who was their Lord and Master.

But there were also enemies. There was opposition, hostility, rejection. To many the gospel was plain foolishness; to others it was a stumblingblock. Several of the books of the New Testament were written in the heat of this battle with the foes of the Christian faith, in defense or attack, and much of what we know about the life of the early church in that age of Christian beginnings comes to us through the records of these encounters.

Ours is a very different age. The Christian gospel has been with us for nearly two thousand years. The church has spread over the face of the earth, and today only a few people are left in the world who have never heard of Christ. All about us we see the signs and symbols of a Christian era: every town and village has its churches, every cemetery its crosses, every radio station its religious programs, every newspaper on Saturday morning its church page. Prayers at the recent presidential inauguration took almost half of the time of the entire ceremony; all statistics seem to indicate that religion is flourishing. Can we not say, then, that ours is truly a Christian age?

Yet, for almost a century now some of the most sensitive and perceptive minds in the western world have told us that we have entered into a post-Christian era. "I don't accept God's world; I return to God the entrance ticket of existence," says a character of one of Dostoevski's novels, written a century ago. Friedrich Nietzsche, himself the son of a Lutheran manse, exclaimed a few decades later: "God is dead; we have done away with him." Dietrich Bonhoeffer, the brilliant young German

theologian who died at the hands of Hitler's Gestapo, called ours the post-religious age; Paul Tillich maintains that we are living in a post-Protestant era; and contemporary writers are frequently referring to modern man in the western world as post-Christian man.

May we not ask, then, who this post-Christian man is? To put it briefly: he is one who no longer looks at the world, thinks of the world, speaks of the world or of himself in terms of and from the perspectives of the Christian faith and heritage. The great Christian concepts of sin and grace, atonement and redemption, justification and sanctification are alien to his thinking: The Christian symbols have little or no meaning for him. In contemporary literature, there is no Dante or John Donne; in art, no Michelangelo or Duerer or Raphael; in music, no Bach or Handel.

Often this post-Christian man has found a new faith to which he gives himself with a tremendous commitment and loyalty. We are used to thinking of Communism as a brutal tyranny that holds sway over millions of unwilling subjects. But we must not forget that there are also very many men and women, and especially young people, to whom Communism is a religion, a faith, a cause that renders answers to their deepest questions and promises fulfilment of all their dreams and hopes. A young Chinese, 21 years old, brought up in a Christian school, wrote to his missionary friend:

I am no longer the former man you knew. Apart from my body which is the same, my whole mind and thought have changed. I have become a new man . . . a loyal believer in Marx-Leninism. I shall never live for myself alone, but for the masses . . . In this new teaching I have found unimagined blessing and happiness. I am very sorry that I must inform you that I no longer believe in God nor worship Him. I can no longer address you as a religious brother, but I send you my revolutionary love.

Or think of the post-Christian man who has made his own probing mind his god. Science has given him a mastery over the forces of nature which previous generations would have found incredible. The earth is his footstool, not God's; the firmament echoes back the message which he sends out into it; the unknown

Herbert Gezork has been President of Andover Newton Theological School since 1950 and in 1960 was President of the American Baptist Convention. The Gospel and the Post-Christian Man was preached as the Baccalaureate sermon to the graduating class of the School and their friends in The First Church in Newton (Congregational) on Sunday, May 21, 1961.

is to him merely the not-yet-known. Through modern miracle drugs he feels practically able to remake the individual and to create a new personality; through social engineering he believes himself to be capable of fashioning the good society; he expects confidently that before long he will be able to create life itself in his test-tubes. Every year he records at least two million new discoveries and inventions. Is there any door left that he will not be able to unlock with the magic key of his restless, searching, indomitable mind?

Over against this modern optimist stands his very opposite: the contemporary post-Christian nihilist, prophet of a bitter, cynical despair. To him human existence is meaningless, and as the threat of nuclear self-destruction hangs over the whole human race, this despair of the post-Christian man is understandably deepened. Mencken described man as a local disease of the cosmos, "a kind of pestiferous eczema." There is no design and no purpose, and the best one can do with such an existence is eat, drink and be merry. How well W. H. Auden echoes this despair:

The earth is an oyster with nothing inside it;

Not to be born is the best for man . . .

Dance till the stars come down with the rafters

Dance, dance, dance—till you drop.

But the post-Christian man can also be found in our churches. Keen observers of the religious scene in America, like Will Herberg, Martin Marty and others have pointed out that the faith of many of our good church members might best be described as "religion-in-general," a faith progressively evacuated of content, a vague sociable friendliness, a symbol of respectability; its basic belief the essential goodness of man; its dominant ethic the maxim "live and let live"; its main enemy Communism; and its Kingdom of God the American Way of Life, forever and ever. Harry Golden, that whimsical Jewish writer of North Carolina, had this to say:

If I were faced today with the decision my ancestors faced—become a Christian or die—I would pick a church fast. There is nothing to offend me in the modern church. The minister gives a sermon on juvenile delinquency one week, then reviews a movie next week, then everyone goes downstairs and plays bingo. The first part of a church they build is the kitchen. Five hundred years from now people will dig up these churches, find the steam tables and wonder what kind of sacrifices we performed.

To be sure, this is religion, but one might well ask how much of the Christian faith is left in this religion-in-general, which

gives no offense to anybody, which offers peace of mind to everybody, which tries to avoid at any price being a stumblingblock or a foolishness. With biting sarcasm the devotee of this all-inclusive, non-offensive faith has been described as looking like a liberal Baptist coming out of a Hindu temple, with a rosary around his neck, and a copy of Mary Baker Eddy under his arm.

To this post-Christian man comes the gospel as it did to the pre-Christian man in the time of the apostles. It comes to him with the same timeless and timely message, the word of One who is the Ultimate Reality, the Ground of all Being: God; One who has not remained in splendid isolation or silent aloofness, but Who has reached out toward man, working out His purpose through history and through the lives of individuals. And there is one event, supreme and unique in which He has disclosed himself as nowhere else: the life, teaching, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ. In this he reveals once and for all not only who He is, but also what man is to become, if he accepts His bidding, surrenders to His will, and walks in His way. That is the gospel.

And the response of post-Christian man? This is opiate for the people, says the Communist; it is projection of wishful thinking, says the worshipper of science; it is a naive dream, says the debunking cynic. In other words: to the post-Christian man, as to the pre-Christian man, the gospel is still stumblingblock and foolishness. Perhaps under the hammer blows of history post-Christian man will first have to come to the end of his rope, will have to discover that the road he is traveling leads to a dead end; will have to find that the altars at which he has worshipped his self-made gods are crumbling into dust before his eyes. Perhaps then, and not before then, will he realize that Augustine's word applies to the man of the twentieth century as it did to the man of the fifth: that our hearts are restless until they find rest in God.

But what about us who are called to be witnesses of this gospel? The answer to that question is obvious: we must go on witnessing in season and out of season, whether we are listened to or not, whether our message is accepted or rejected. Perhaps we shall have to find new ways of proclaiming the gospel. If the modern agnostic or atheist no longer listens to our sermonic monologues, then we may have to enter into a genuine dialogue with him in which he would be allowed to present his case—a procedure which doubtless would keep many a drowsy congregation wide awake. If many of our contemporaries are unwilling even to darken the doors of our churches, then perhaps we shall have to go and find them where they are—as the Wesley brothers did in

their time, or as Christian actors guilds in Germany do in our time. If large congregations or evangelistic mass meetings are no longer effective in truly reaching the individual, then perhaps we should form small cells, or have house meetings, where two or three, or five or ten, can really speak to each others' needs. If the modern working man believes that the gospel is nothing but a pie-in-the-sky proposition, then perhaps we should emulate the example of the French worker priests who, in daily contact with their fellow workers in factories and shops, try to demonstrate the relevance of the Christian faith to every aspect of man's life on earth.

But we must probe still deeper. The Apostle Paul speaks of the gospel as a stumblingblock for many. Has it occurred to us that in our time it often is not the gospel, but the proclaimer of it, who is the true stumblingblock? I am thinking now of the intellectual and spiritual arrogance so often displayed by Christians, a lack of humility which has been standing between modern man and the gospel. How often have Christians strutted as if they knew all the answers to the deep mysteries of life, as if they had been present when God created the world and had taken it all down on their little tape recorders! How often have Christians forgotten that their faith never offers an absolute understanding of everything, but only some understanding of the Absolute. There runs through the Bible, and there stands at the very heart of the Christian faith, a reverent, humble agnosticism that confesses with Paul: "Now we see in a mirror dimly . . . Now I know in part." How many people have been alienated from the Christian faith because they found in those professing this faith so little of the awe before the unplumbed depth of existence that is a characteristic of all genuine piety.

Certainly theologians must take their share of this indictment. Martin Luther, toward the end of his life, expressed the hope that God would soon deliver him from the "furor theologorum": the fury of the theologians. When we think of the grim determination with which representatives of theology have tried to absolutize their systems, as if theology and gospel were identical, or when we think of the stubborn insistence with which ecclesiastical leaders have talked of their particular churchly order, as if it alone represented the Body of Christ, then we might well remember Oliver Cromwell's plea to an assembly of clergymen: "I beseech you, in the bowels of Christ, think it possible you may be mistaken."

And what about another stumblingblock in the path of the gospel: the church's concern for itself, its own life, security, future,

instead of concern for the world for whose sake the church was called into being? The central fact of the Christian faith is that of the incarnation: God entered into the life of the world in and through Jesus Christ. If the Apostle Paul's definition of the church as the Body of Christ means anything at all, it must mean that the church is called into being to continue what Christ began: as he did, so the church must enter into the total life of the world in order to redeem and transform it.

But see how the church again and again has tried to withdraw from the world in order to retreat into a little quiet corner of other-worldly piety. See how the church sacrifices its prophetic and revolutionary witness for the sake of its own safety and material prosperity. While speaking fortissimo about what Edwin Dahlberg has ironically called "Mickey Mouse sins," the church is speaking pianissimo about the great issues of mankind, the problems of races, of social justice, of nuclear war. How often has the church merely echoed feebly what the world has said! That is the reason that someone waggishly paraphrased that strident Christian hymn, "Onward Christian soldiers . . .," with the words:

Softly, Christian soldiers, walk in doubt and fear,
With the cross of Jesus bringing up the rear!

One of the most outspoken post-Christians of our time, C. Wright Mills, put it even more burningly in his "Pagan Sermon to the Christian Clergy":

As a social and as a personal force religion has become a dependent variable. It does not originate: it re-acts. It does not denounce: it adapts. It does not set forth new models of conduct: it imitates. It has become less a revitalization of the spirit in permanent tension with the world than a respectable distraction from the sourness of life . . . With such religion ours is indeed a world in which the idea of God is dead.

Whenever the church attempts to withdraw from involvement in the total life of the world, it betrays not only its Lord, but also becomes a stumblingblock in the path of his gospel.

But again and again the most serious stumblingblock has been our own lack of faith. I am reminded of the rather sophisticated minister of a staid New England church who, yielding to the repeated urgings of one of his parishioners, at the close of a Sunday morning service extended an invitation to all who wished to confess Christ and join the church. When four people actually came forward, he was so taken by surprise that he did not know

what to do. I do not tell this because I believe that giving an invitation like that is necessarily a sign of a glowing faith; but are we not often like this minister? We speak of great things, but really do not expect them to happen; we confess that faith is the greatest power in the world, but we never dare to put it to the test.

And yet, it does work. Through nineteen centuries of Christian history there is the luminous trail of broken lives that were renewed; of human relations that were redeemed; of hate transformed into love; of despair changed into hope. I think of the British worker who, when asked whether he actually believed that Jesus had changed water into wine, replied: "Well, I do not know about that; but I know that he has changed beer into furniture in my home." Or I think of the brave mother in New Orleans who took her little daughter every morning to a desegregated school, walking through the line of jeering, spitting, threatening men and women, whispering to herself the words: "The Lord is my shepherd, I shall not want . . ." Or I think of Dietrich Bonhoeffer on an April night in 1945, who had just conducted a service with some of his fellow-prisoners in Flossenbürg.

He had hardly ended his last prayer when the door opened and two civilians entered. They said: "Prisoner Bonhoeffer, come with us." That had only one meaning for all prisoners—the gallows. We said good-bye to him. He took me aside: "This is the end, but for me it is the beginning of life." The next day he was hanged.

Yes, there is a power that pours strength into weakness, transforms fear into courage, defies death with triumphant hope. And the post-Christian man, seemingly so cocksure, yet frightened, needs that power to redeem him and make him the kind of person he in his deepest longing wants to be. Are we, in our lack of radiant, contagious faith, not too often the stumblingblock for others? Was Nietzsche right: "Your Christians must look more redeemed before I can believe in their Redeemer"?

In many of our Protestant denominations the call has been sounded for a renewal of the church; for a radical re-evaluation of the church's self-image, of its understanding of its mission in and to the world, and of the ways it loses its own life for the sake of the redemption of the world. This may well be necessary before we can speak to the post-Christian man the word that heals and restores. And thus our prayer must be: "Renew Thy church, O God—beginning with me."

Bonhoeffer's Influence on The Younger Generation of Ministers in Germany

ECKHARD MINTHE

Translated by
S. MacLean Gilmour

I

Characteristic of the theological geography of Central Europe is its Balkanization. There are many schools of thought, and from their various entrenchments their protagonists issue intermittently to engage in debate or to become involved in controversy. A coterie of devoted disciples and adherents gathers about some celebrated theologian, and its members listen to their master's voice and dedicate themselves to the preservation and propagation of his ideas. So it is that today in Germany we have Barthians, Bultmannians, Tillichians, and many another group.

Despite such theological diversification, it would be incorrect to say that there is any outspoken Bonhoeffer school. The circle of Bonhoeffer's friends and followers that occasionally assembles can scarcely be described in such terms. Although Bonhoeffer belongs without question among those theologians whose influence on the younger theological generation in Germany has been most profound, this influence has not resulted in the creation of a body of dedicated disciples, in the formation of a school, as is usual in such instances. It is difficult to devise fixed lines along which his thought may be developed, and even more difficult to use his ideas as a practical program for the administration of a modern parish. To come to terms in our time with Bonhoeffer and to make his thought bear fruit, one must keep in mind what a recent interpreter has written in connection with Bonhoeffer's proposal that we must be prepared to offer a non-religious interpretation of biblical ideas:

It will only be possible to put the astonishing slogan of the non-religious interpretation of biblical ideas to fruitful use if we avoid staring at it either with anxiety or fascination and if we do not ask impatiently for practical instruction in implementing its program. We must let it set our feet upon a path, on a path that is no paved highway but that becomes a path only as we break it in the course of our progress, on a path on which we as theologians already find ourselves,

though we may be wandering aimlessly on it or even slothfully standing still. If Bonhoeffer is to help us make such a path of our own, and having done so tread it, much more profitable for us than the answer that the question concerning the non-religious interpretation of biblical ideas was intended to suggest is the formulation of the questions that gave rise to it: What can Christ actually mean for us today? What do we really believe about him? How can Christ become the Lord also of the irreligious?¹

What has been said above with reference to Bonhoeffer's idea of the non-religious interpretation of the Bible is true also of all his theology. It can only be understood in light of these three questions, and only by means of these three questions can it indicate the way we must go, a way we must then discover by ourselves, assisted again and again to be sure by what Bonhoeffer said, but nevertheless always as a result of our own initiative. This observation is supported by the remark of a young Bavarian minister who said of himself that he was constantly concerned in his work with the questions Bonhoeffer had asked and the problems he had raised, that he had constantly to grapple with them and was constantly stimulated by them, but that this often happened unconsciously and without reflection, arising out of the situation in which he chanced to find himself.

For a period after World War II Dietrich Bonhoeffer's name was widely known and his ideas were frequently debated by many outside the church and the theological classroom. There were various reasons for the popularity he enjoyed and, as a natural result of the manysidedness of his life and thought, the most diverse images of the man emerged from the discussion: the leader of the Resistance after whom a Socialist city council named a street; the minister in politics who was shunned by ultra-conservatives; the martyred witness to the faith who had become the ideal of youth; the founder of a resolutely ascetical fellowship of Christians who was enthusiastically adopted by certain circles of the evangelical youth movement; above all, however, the representative of a secular theology who stimulated discussion among

¹ Gerhard Ebeling, "Die nicht-religiöse Interpretation biblischer Begriffe," *Die mündige Welt* (Munich: Kaiser Verlag, 1956), Vol. II, pp. 39 f.

Eckhard Minthe was a German fellow at Andover Newton in 1957-1958 and is presently a member of a ministers' seminar of the *Landeskirche Hannover* at Hildesheim.

The translator is editor of this Quarterly and Norris Professor of New Testament at Andover Newton.

theologians. I myself recollect a time when my companions and I, having outgrown the Scout Movement and in quest of a Christian "Brotherhood" to put in its place, seized avidly on ideas from Bonhoeffer's *The Cost of Discipleship* and *Life Together*, fascinated by the rigorous ascetic, until gradually, especially from *Prisoner For God*, we came to know the mighty sweep of the man's thought, which freed us from our own narrowness and introversion.

In recent years much less has been heard of Bonhoeffer than was formerly the case. He has not been forgotten, by any means, but like something that has become known and is then taken for granted he no longer has the attraction of novelty and consequently in many circles has lost much of the interest he once possessed. This is not altogether a matter for regret, for it is evident that the broad but very shallow influence he once exerted has now been channeled into a narrower but deeper stream, that his ideas are now being studied with greater devotion under quieter circumstances and are therefore making a deeper impression on the thought of the times. Not that there ever was a dearth of intensive studies of Bonhoeffer. Seminars on his theology and his ethics attracted crowds of students. But these often proved unsatisfying, especially when their scope was limited to ultra-scientific discussion and formalistic debate concerning Bonhoeffer's alleged "system." Certainly such undertakings are justifiable and make their own contribution to our understanding of the man and his message, but it is questionable whether such exercises in analysis and exposition alone are sufficient, whether by themselves they do Bonhoeffer justice and can make his thought really relevant to the tasks and issues of our own day, to say nothing of the fact that the result of such enquiries is often oversimplification.

There are still other reasons why Bonhoeffer is no longer as much the center of public interest as was the case a few years ago. The impatience that demands an application of Bonhoeffer's ideas tends to give place to some sort of resignation. Bonhoeffer asks questions to which he does not give an immediate and tangible answer. His ideas are so uncommonly contemporaneous, so "concrete," that even in those instances in which he gives an answer to the question he asks it is no simple matter to relate question and answer to the circumstances of our time, since the situation in which we find ourselves is no longer that in which he lived.

Furthermore, the attempt to systematize Bonhoeffer's thought and then to work out its application is doomed from the start to failure, for his ideas were impulsive reactions to a peculiar set of

circumstances. They are so impetuous and so conditioned by the situation in which Bonhoeffer found himself that one could almost speak of them as prophetic oracles. And how can a prophet be confined within the strait jacket of a system that would make possible an automatic application of his ideas? Bonhoeffer's impulsive utterances cannot be neatly arranged so as to assure their application to our times by a simple process of deductive reasoning. Nor can Bonhoeffer himself be simply transplanted from the forties into the sixties. Having exposed ourselves to his ideas and his insights, our task is not to look for some trick by which they could be applied to our situation. Rather, it is to seek to understand the questions Bonhoeffer asked and then for our own part—inspired to be sure by him—find our own way forward and walk in it. The problems that faced Bonhoeffer are basically our problems as well as his: What does Christ really mean to you and to me? What do we really believe about him? How can he become the Lord also of those who do not acknowledge him? It was Bonhoeffer who first really opened our eyes to these questions. But the answers we give must be ours, not his.

In this connection much is being said today about the fact that Bonhoeffer's writings are only a corpus of fragments. From one point of view this observation is correct, for Bonhoeffer's life and literary activities were cut off at a time when he still had much to say to us. Nevertheless, the talk about the fragmentary character of Bonhoeffer's work is largely superficial. It has a bearing only on the fact that Bonhoeffer died an early, violent, and untimely death. In a wider context it is irrelevant, for it demands something of Bonhoeffer that he cannot give and was also not prepared to give. Is it not true that the talk about the fragmentary character of Bonhoeffer's work is just another consequence of the mistaken assumption that his thought was a closed system, or at least a planned edifice? In offering such judgments are we not guilty of systematizing Bonhoeffer's ideas, probably driven to this undertaking by an unconscious desire to put them into practice, to evolve a method of making them relevant to our time? In so doing, however, we should be doing Bonhoeffer a serious injustice.

Concerning the promise of the fragmentary, Bonhoeffer himself has something to say that might be of help to us as we on our part seek to come to terms with him:

The important thing . . . is that people should be able to discern from the fragment of our life how the whole was arranged and planned, and of what material it consists. For

there are some fragments which are only worth throwing out into the dustbin, and even a decent hell is far too good for them. But there are other fragments whose importance lasts for centuries because their completion can only be a matter for God, and therefore they are fragments which must be fragments.—I am thinking for example of the Art of the Fugue [Bach]. If our life is but the remotest reflection of such a fragment, if in a short time we accumulate a wealth of themes and weld them together into a pleasing harmony and keep the great counterpoint going all through, so that, when it comes to an untimely conclusion, we can at least still sing the choral, *Vor deinen Thron tret' ich allhier*—then let us not bemoan the fragmentariness of our life, but rather rejoice in it.²

II

Of all the matters with which Bonhoeffer concerned himself, it was about the church that he thought most persistently and intensively. To be sure, he dealt very differently with the theme during various periods in his life's work, but he himself refused to admit that there had been any abrupt break in his thought. On the contrary, his thinking about the church had undergone a progressive development, and his varied treatments of the subject are due to changes in emphasis, occasioned more or less by the situation in which he found himself at the time. Much in his letters and papers from prison that strikes us as something wholly new is in essence, at any rate, already apparent in earlier writings, for instance in his Lectures on Christology, delivered at the University of Berlin in 1933. Various developments of the intervening years, in particular the exigencies of the conflict within the church, compelled him to defer further consideration of many of the problems he had already raised until the long months of privacy and isolation in his prison cell afforded him the time and opportunity to recall them for renewed reflection.

Nevertheless there is some basis for the observation that to begin with Bonhoeffer's ideas of the church, developed as they were in the course of discussion with churchmen (whether ministers or laymen), had to do primarily with the church's inner life. It is all the more surprising, then, to encounter those statements in his *Ethics* and in his *Prisoner For God* which refer to the church as an entity that encompasses the whole world. In passages in which he speaks of the reformation and renewal of the church he

² *Prisoner For God* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1957), p. 106.

can suddenly use "church" as a virtual synonym for "world." All of a sudden it would appear as though the world rather than the church had become his theme. Expressions such as "this-worldly," "the secular interpretation of biblical ideas," "a secular and non-religious 'being-in-Christ,'" and so forth are characteristic. Bonhoeffer can even describe existential Christianity as "life in the context of sheer worldliness."³

No doubt it was these ideas and this terminology that caused Bonhoeffer to be regarded in some quarters as a liberal theologian. (Perhaps it would be better to say, "caused Bonhoeffer in some quarters to be *labeled* a liberal theologian," for Bonhoeffer's critics almost always use the designation derogatively.) The classification is correct to the extent that Bonhoeffer shares the vital concern of theological liberalism that the world be taken seriously and that an effort be made to understand modern man without resort to the use of Christian euphemisms or clichés. He is concerned that the true and the good be not separated from a Christianity that makes absolute pretensions and in the course of such alienation become debased. He is concerned that man be taken seriously, man as he is and as he understands himself. And in all this Bonhoeffer is true to the best in his liberal heritage. For him these concerns are a simple matter of intellectual honesty, and he is conscious of his obligation in this respect to the tradition out of which he has come.

Intellectual honesty in all things, including questions of belief, was the great achievement of emancipated reason and it has ever since been one of the indispensable moral achievements of western man. Contempt for the age of rationalism is a suspicious sign of failure to feel the need for truthfulness. If intellectual honesty is not the last word that is to be said about things, and if intellectual clarity is often achieved at the expense of insight into reality, this can still never again exempt us from the inner obligation to make clean and honest use of reason.⁴

What is distinctive about Bonhoeffer—and in this, to be sure, he goes beyond all theological liberalism—is that, despite all his candor and all his concern for the world, he is never guilty of diluting the gospel. With all his insistence on the worldliness of existential Christianity, he never loses himself in the world, whether on a wave of false optimism or in a trough of pessimis-

³ *Ethics* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1955), p. 263 *et al*; *Prisoner For God*, pp. 166, 160, 123 *et al*.

⁴ *Ethics*, p. 34.

tic resignation. He is always conscious of being borne by Jesus Christ—rather, of being freed from worldliness by Jesus Christ—in whom God has come into the world and has identified himself with it. This Jesus Christ, through whom God has reconciled the world to himself, is the beginning, the middle, and the end of Bonhoeffer's secular theology, for the sphere of Christ's sovereignty embraces all the world. Christ's claim to lordship is a total claim. There is nothing that his dominion excludes. There is no province that he has not claimed for himself. And this claim by Christ to entire and exclusive sovereignty puts an end to all worldly heteronomy and autonomy, and therewith to all claims by the world to be a law unto itself. There is no worldliness that this claim does not encompass, no worldliness that stands outside its frame of reference, for all worldliness is abrogated in Christ, in whom the worldliness of God has entered into the worldliness of this world. Therefore

one can speak neither of God nor of the world without speaking of Jesus Christ. All concepts of reality which do not take account of Him are abstractions . . . In Christ we are offered the possibility of partaking in the reality of God and in the reality of the world, but not in the one without the other. The reality of God discloses itself only by setting me entirely in the reality of the world, and when I encounter the reality of the world it is always already sustained, accepted and reconciled in the reality of God.⁵

This christocratic point of departure, which is not concerned with a justification of Jesus Christ in the eyes of the world but with the justification of the world by Jesus Christ, results in a radical deprovincializing of Christ: Christ is the Lord of the *whole* world. If the christological concentration characteristic of Bonhoeffer's early writings can sometimes awaken the impression of a quasi-monastic otherworldliness, this is now dissipated, and Bonhoeffer's Christology emerges in all its christocratic inclusiveness.

This claim to sovereignty, however, is not to be understood as an assertion of might in the sense of a medieval *corpus Christi-anum*. The lordship of Christ is the lordship of one who suffered and was crucified; of one who, because he gave himself for the world, because of his very impotence in the world, is Lord of the world. His claim to lordship is founded on his voluntary and vicarious assumption of the guilt of the world. Under the ideas of surrogation and of voluntary assumption of guilt, Bonhoeffer subsumed all Christ's claim to authority—authority both in and

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

over the world. "This freedom from self, maintained to the point of death, [is] the sole ground of his omnipotence, omniscience, and ubiquity."⁶

With reference to Christ's claim to lordship, a claim that has already been put into effect, it can therefore be said:

Jesus does not desire to be regarded as the only perfect one at the expense of men; He does not desire to look down on mankind as the only guiltless one while mankind goes to its ruin under the weight of its guilt; He does not wish that some idea of a new man should triumph amid the wreckage of a humanity whose guilt has destroyed it . . . From His selfless love, from His freedom from sin, Jesus enters into the guilt of men and takes this guilt upon Himself.⁷

But all this is the very antithesis of what the world knows and expects, and Bonhoeffer portrayed the contrast most effectively in a poem that he himself held to be of particular importance, "Christians and Unbelievers."⁸ In this he spoke of the participation of the church in the suffering of God in Christ. God's claim to lordship over the whole world and for the whole world is manifested in Christ's passion and crucifixion.

God allows himself to be edged out of the world and on to the cross. God is weak and powerless in the world, and that is exactly the way, the only way, in which he can be with us and help us. Matthew 8.17 makes it crystal clear that it is not by his omnipotence that Christ helps us, but by his weakness and suffering.⁹

This lordship of Christ in his suffering, however, is never an alien lordship over the world, never a lordship that dissolves all worldly orders and presses everything into a Christian mold. "The purpose and aim of the dominion of Christ is not to make the worldly order godly or to subordinate it to the Church but to set it free for true worldliness."¹⁰ By virtue of their true worldliness the secular orders all stand under the lordship of Christ. As a matter of fact, in this sense Bonhoeffer can occasionally use the concepts "lordship of Christ" and "true worldliness" interchangeably.

Bonhoeffer's statements concerning the "this-worldliness" of Christianity and the "world that has come of age" must be under-

⁶ *Prisoner For God*, p. 179.

⁷ *Ethics*, p. 210.

⁸ *Prisoner For God*, pp. 167 f. (See photographic reproductions on pp. 26-27 of this issue of the *Quarterly*.)

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 164.

¹⁰ *Ethics*, p. 294.

stood in light of this christocratic interpretation of Christ's lordship—a lordship that Christ exercises by virtue of his very impotence. By defining Christianity as a “this-worldly” religion, Bonhoeffer repudiates all “spirituality” that would restrict religion to the sphere of individual response and thereby make it irrelevant to life on this earth. That faith has lost its content becomes apparent when a man is unable to be a surrogate for sinners and to acknowledge that he, too, is involved in the world's guilt. When it preaches only a personalistic faith, Christianity demonstrates that it is bankrupt; that it has nothing to say when the men of our time are confronted with urgent questions. As the inevitable result of preoccupation with the “beyond,” “this-worldly” issues are precipitously evaded, and man is left alone in his extremity and, by the same token, excluded from the sphere of Christ's reconciling mission. Characteristic of an inadequate this-worldliness in much of German Protestantism is the tendency to think in terms of two spheres. A neat distinction is made between a profane and secular (and consequently unchristian) realm on the one hand, and a divine and holy (and thereby Christian) realm on the other. Although this separation has been attempted in one form or another for many hundreds of years, the reality of Jesus Christ and the fact that God in Christ is reconciling the world to himself make it impossible. When the autonomy of two orders is asserted, they and their claims are thereby placed outside the sphere of Christ's lordship, and there remain for men in the world only the alternatives of retreat into one or of flight into the other. As a consequence, therefore, Bonhoeffer opposed the doctrine of two autonomous orders. Since God's reconciling deed in Christ it is no longer tenable. Only one course of action is open to the man who has been the object of God's work of reconciliation in Christ. “Whoever professes to believe in the reality of Jesus Christ, as the revelation of God, must in the same breath profess his faith in both the reality of God and the reality of the world; for in Christ he finds God and the world reconciled.”¹¹

To be a Christian, then, means to be a Christian in this world. Christianity is a “this-worldly” religion. And “this-worldliness” in this connection does not mean merely a recognition of the reality of the world in the sight of God. It also demands a life of loyal and self-denying devotion to Christ. Of his own endeavors in this direction and of his experience of “being-in-Christ” Bonhoeffer writes:

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

I thought I could acquire faith by trying to live a holy life, or something like it . . . Later I discovered and am still discovering up to this very moment that it is only by living completely in this world that one learns to believe. One must abandon every attempt to make something of oneself, whether it be a saint, a converted sinner, a churchman (the priestly type, so-called!), a righteous man or an unrighteous one, a sick man or a healthy one. This is what I mean by worldliness—taking life in one's stride, with all its duties and problems, its successes and failures, its experience and helplessness. It is in such a life that we throw ourselves utterly into the arms of God and participate in his sufferings in the world and watch with Christ in Gethsemane. That is faith, that is *metanoia*, and that is what makes a man and a Christian (cf. Jeremiah 45).¹²

Alongside this understanding of the "this-worldliness" of Christianity, Bonhoeffer ranges the positive understanding of "the world that has come of age." Bonhoeffer was by no means the first to make the observation that the world has come of age. Similar ideas appear—among theologians as among others—in the most varied forms, but especially as a comment in terms of time analysis. Nor would it be correct to say that the fact that he arrives at a positive understanding of the process by which the world leaves its minority behind is characteristic and typical of Bonhoeffer's thinking. Rather, Bonhoeffer's peculiar contribution is that his affirmations are the consequence, not of a time analysis, made as it were from a spectator's point of view, but of having himself participated in the world's coming of age. He himself is directly involved; he himself has "become a man." As a result he can no longer be satisfied with mere analysis of the time in which he lives, or even with an interpretation of it; in other words, with noting the fact that the world has come of age. No! Bonhoeffer is concerned with the question of who Christ is for the world that has come of age. In this connection, furthermore, his theme is not the world that has come of age, but "How can we reclaim for Christ a world which has come of age?"¹³

That the world has come of age is evident from the fact that modern man is able to live without God. He is no longer compelled to make use of God as a working hypothesis. Bonhoeffer can also describe this modern form of godlessness as a state of irreligion—an irreligiosity—whereby religion is understood as a

¹² *Prisoner For God*, pp. 168 f.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 157.

label of a certain attitude or state of consciousness. Bonhoeffer experiences this irreligiosity as an assault on his faith, for from this modern man who has reached his majority, who has "put away childish things," he hears the question: "Where is thy God?" While analysts of time warm up the old cliché that the world has forsaken God, in his experience of the world's godlessness Bonhoeffer becomes aware that God, in cutting the apron strings of man's immaturity, has abandoned the world. The believer participates in this experience of utter dereliction, as Christ suffered it on the Cross.

The only way to be honest is to recognize that we have to live in the world *etsi Deus non daretur*, and that is just what we do see—before God! So our coming of age forces us to a true recognition of our situation *vis à vis* God. God is teaching us that we must live as men who can get along very well without him. The God who makes us live in this world without using him as a working hypothesis is the God before whom we are ever standing. Before God and without him we live without God.¹⁴

Moreover, it is upon this God, weak and powerless as he is in this world, that we are cast, for it is only the suffering God who can come to our help. "To this extent we may say that the process we have described by which the world came of age was an abandonment of a false conception of God, and a clearing of the decks for the God of the Bible, who conquers power and space in the world by his weakness."¹⁵

In all this Bonhoeffer's profound concern for the church becomes apparent. On the one hand he exposes, ruthlessly exposes, its failure to measure up to the demands made by the times upon it. On the other hand, looking to the future, he sketches the church's task and responsibility. Let me quote a few sentences from his "Thoughts on the Baptism of D.W.R.":

During these years the Church has fought for self-preservation as though it were an end in itself, and has thereby lost its chance to speak a word of reconciliation to mankind and the world at large. So our traditional language must perforce become powerless and remain silent, and our Christianity to-day will be confined to praying for and doing right by our fellow men. Christian thinking, speaking and organization must be reborn out of this praying and this action.¹⁶

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 163 f.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 164.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 140.

These words are written by one who himself is a churchman; they do not refer in any way to that part of the church of the day that had made a pact with the Nazi regime; they are directed to a church that no doubt took its task seriously, but that, having become in its stagnation an end in itself, could not do it justice. They are not a repudiation of the church, not an unofficial declaration of withdrawal or of personal alienation from the church, but a prophetic word that summons to repentance and that looks to the future with confidence in its Lord, a Lord that is still a living Lord in this feeble church.

The day will come when men will be called again to utter the word of God with such power as will change and renew the world . . . Until then the Christian cause will be a silent and hidden affair, but there will be those who pray and do right and wait for God's own time.¹⁷

In an "Outline For a Book" that Bonhoeffer sends from prison to his friend Bethge, he refers by means of summary headings in the course of a "stocktaking" of Christianity to the church's failure to understand and fulfill its mission:

The Protestant Church. Pietism as the last attempt to maintain evangelical Christianity as a religion. Lutheran orthodoxy—the attempt to rescue the Church as an institution for salvation. The Confessing Church and the theology of revelation. A *dos moi pou stō* over against the world . . . championing ecclesiastical interests, but [with] little personal faith in Jesus Christ . . . The Church on the defensive. Unwillingness to take risks in the service of humanity.¹⁸

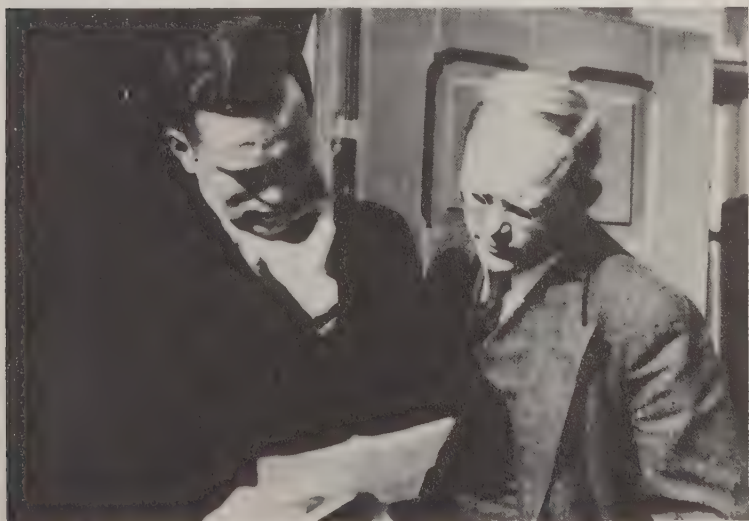
The failure of the church lies in the fact that its relationship to the world is apologetical and polemical. The church views the world's coming of age as a repudiation of God and as a denial of the church's right to exist. The man who lives *etsi Deus non daretur*, who gets along in everyday life without God, cannot any longer be interested in the church. Instead of accepting and affirming the fact that the world has come of age, the church attempts, with methods and practices that are questionable in view of its mission, to put a halt to the development, or it concentrates its concern on the area of personal religion, on the intimate sphere of man's private faith and on situations on the frontier of man's being: man's so-called "ultimate questions" become the church's monopoly. In so doing it overlooks the

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 140 f.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 178 f.



Eberhard Bethge [left] (now of Harvard Divinity School) and Dietrich Bonhoeffer [right]. The reproduction is from the Spring, 1931 photograph of the graduating class at Union Theological Seminary, New York.



Dietrich Bonhoeffer [right] and Eberhard Bethge (Bonhoeffer's intimate friend, colleague at Finkenwalde, and editor of his posthumous books and letters.)

A letter written by Bonhoeffer on Dec. 5, 1943 from Tegel Prison in Berlin to Eberhard Bethge. Smuggled out of Bonhoeffer's cell by a friendly guard, it was later enclosed in a can and buried (together with others in the collection published under the title *Widerstand und Ergebung* in 1951) for safety's sake in a garden until the end of World War II. (Some of the letters show the effects of the damp mold that had begun to cause the paper to disintegrate.)

Handwritten German text, likely a transcription of the letter from Tegel Prison. The text is written in cursive and includes a circled number '15' in the top right corner. The handwriting is dense and somewhat faded, with some ink bleed-through from the reverse side visible. The text discusses various topics, including the state of the church, the role of the individual, and the author's personal reflections on his situation in prison.

Christen u. Heiden

1. Menschen gehen zu Gott in ihrer Not,
haben kein Heil, haben kein Heil und Gott
von Bethge aus Kränkel, Schickel und Tod.
So traue sie alle, alle, Christen und Heiden.
2. Menschen gehen zu Gott in ihrer Not,
haben kein Heil, haben kein Heil und Gott,
haben kein Heil und Gott, haben kein Heil und Gott,
haben kein Heil und Gott, haben kein Heil und Gott.
3. So traue sie alle, alle, Christen und Heiden,
haben kein Heil und Gott, haben kein Heil und Gott,
haben kein Heil und Gott, haben kein Heil und Gott,
haben kein Heil und Gott, haben kein Heil und Gott.

Christen u. Heiden

A poem written by Bonhoeffer in Tegel Prison on July 18, 1944 and appended to a letter sent to Eberhard Bethge.

TRANSLATION

Dear Eberhard! I so much want to spend a quiet Sunday morning talking things over with you, that I am writing this letter, though I don't know whether it will reach you, and if so, how or where . . . I wonder where we shall both be for Christmas, and what sort of a Christmas it will be. I hope you succeed in conveying something of its joy . . . to your fellow-soldiers. For joy and contentment can be just as infectious as fear and panic. I am sure such a spirit can give us immense moral authority, provided we are not just showing off, but are quite genuine and sincere. Men need a fixed pole they can look to for direction. I don't think either of us are the sort that like showing off, though that has nothing to do with the courage which comes from the grace of God.

My thoughts and feelings seem to be getting more and more like the Old Testament, and no wonder, I have been reading it much more than the New for the last few months. It is only when one knows the ineffability of the Name of God that one can utter the name of Jesus Christ. It is only when one loves life and the world so much that without them everything would be gone, that one can believe in the resurrection and a new world. It is only when one submits to the law that one can speak of grace, and only when one sees the anger and wrath of God hanging like grim realities over the head of one's enemies that one can know something of what it means to love them and forgive them. I don't think it is Christian to want to get to the New Testament too soon and too directly. We have often talked about this before, and I am more than ever convinced that I am right. You cannot and must not speak the last word before you have spoken the next to last. We live on the next to last word, and believe on the last, don't we? Lutherans (so-called) and pietists would be shocked at such an idea, but it is true all the same. In my *Cost of Discipleship* I just hinted at this (in Chap. I), but did not carry it any further. I must do so some day. The consequences are far-reaching, e.g. for the problem of Catholicism, for the doctrine of the ministry, for the use of the Bible, etc., and above all for ethics . . .

I

CHRISTIANS AND UNBELIEVERS

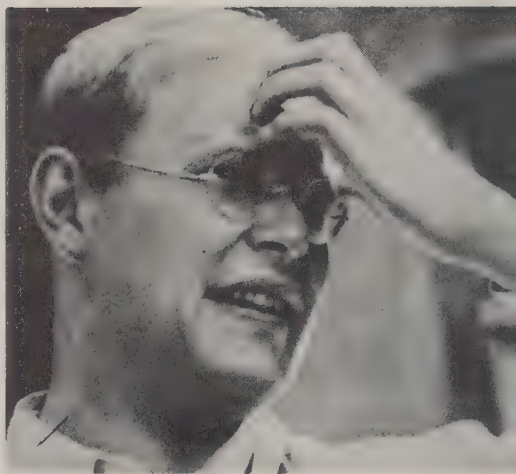
Men go to God when they are sore bestead,
Pray to him for succour, for his peace, for bread,
For mercy for them sick, sinning or dead:
All men do so, Christian and unbelieving.

Men go to God when he is sore bestead,
Find him poor and scorned, without shelter or bread,
Whelmed under weight of the wicked, the weak, the dead:
Christians stand by God in his hour of grieving.

God goeth to every man when sore bestead,
Feedeth body and spirit with his bread,
For Christians, heathens alike he hangeth dead:
And both alike forgiving.

(Dietrich Bonhoeffer, *Prisoner For God* [New York: The Macmillan Company, 1954], pp. 78-79.)

An informal photograph of
Dietrich Bonhoeffer



DIETRICH
BONHOEFFER
EINZEUGE
JESU CHRISTI
UNTER SEINEN
BRÜDERN
GEB. FEBR. 1906
IN Breslau
† 9 APRIL 1945 IN
FLOSSENBERG

Dietrich/Bonhoeffer/a Wit-
ness Of/Jesus Christ/Among
His Brothers/Born 4 February
1906/In Breslau/Died 9 April
1945 In/Flossenbuerg

On April 8, 1945, Bonhoeffer was sentenced to death by a Nazi court martial on charges of being implicated in the plot of July 20, 1944 against Hitler. At dawn on Monday, April 9, he was executed by hanging at the Gestapo concentration camp at Flossenbürg. (*Flossenbürg was liberated a few days later by advance units of the American army.*)

fact that men are by no means so preoccupied with these "ultimate" questions as the church would like to believe, and that, furthermore, these questions cannot be answered satisfactorily by the church alone.

Bonhoeffer regards such an attack of Christian apologetics on the world's achievement of its majority as pointless, ignoble, and unchristian.

Pointless, because it looks to me like an attempt to put a grown-up man back into adolescence, i.e. to make him dependent on things on which he is not in fact dependent any more, thrusting him back into the midst of problems which are in fact not problems for him any more. Ignoble, because this amounts to an effort to exploit the weakness of man for purposes alien to him and not freely subscribed to by him. Un-Christian, because for Christ himself is being substituted one particular stage in the religiousness of man, i.e. a human law.¹⁹

The world on its part reacts to these attempts by the church at self-justification by turning its back on it. In fact, a large part of the antiecclesiastical resentment of our time is the world's response to the church's apologetics, in which it sees both dishonesty at work and a concern merely for the religious trimmings of reality. Bonhoeffer asks the legitimate question, whether in this antipathy to the church a protest is not to be seen against a pious godlessness on our part that has corrupted the church, a protest in which, although in a negative sense, there is preserved a residue of a genuine faith in God and a remnant of a true church.

Bonhoeffer recalls the church to its proper task. His concern is not with the discovery of new methods, but with the recovery by the church of its true being and of the message it has to proclaim to the world of today.

The Church is the man in Christ, incarnate, sentenced and awakened to new life. In the first instance, therefore, she has essentially nothing whatever to do with the so-called religious functions of man, but with the whole man in his existence in the world with all its implications. What matters in the Church is not religion but the form of Christ, and its taking form amidst a band of men.²⁰

These words are taken from Bonhoeffer's *Ethics*. At a later time, in his papers and letters from prison, they become still more pointed, until we hear that the church is only the church of

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 147.

²⁰ *Ethics*, p. 21.

Jesus Christ when it exists wholly for the sake of others and ceases to think in terms of self-preservation. Its only *raison d'être* as church is that it demonstrates to the world that the world itself is caught up in Christ, and this can only happen when the church commits itself wholly to Christ and participates to the full in the suffering and the impotence of Christ in the world. Whenever the church seeks to maintain itself or to claim authority for itself, it cannot be the body of its Lord. Consequently, the suffering and impotence of the church are not in any sense factors that prevent the church from being the church, nor do recognition by or assistance from the state in any way guarantee that the church realizes its essential being. On the contrary, through its very suffering and impotence the fact becomes apparent that the church's Lord lives in it, and by its suffering and impotence the church shares in the life that is his. This does not mean that the church in its impotence and suffering should make a deliberate effort to bring about its own martyrdom. It does mean, however, that the church, whenever it commits itself wholly to a "being-for others," whenever it practices radical self-denial, then, and then only, participates in the life of its Lord; then, and then only, regains the authority to proclaim its Lord.

At the beginning of the third chapter of his "Outline For a Book" to which I have already referred, Bonhoeffer puts the following under the heading "Consequences":

The Church is her true self only when she exists for humanity. As a fresh start she should give away all her endowments to the poor and needy. The clergy should live solely on the free-will offerings of their congregations, or possibly engage in some secular calling. She must take her part in the social life of the world, not lording it over men, but helping and serving them.²¹

Even theologians well-disposed to Bonhoeffer generally choose to pass over these sayings with embarrassed silence. According to the personal reaction of the reader, they are dismissed as wholly irrelevant or as grossly fanatical. Certainly it would be a mistake and quite unjust to Bonhoeffer to interpret them as a program to be put at once into effect. On the other hand, it is in order to ask whether these statements, because of the very radicalism they are alleged to betray, do not draw attention to the areas in which the failure and disloyalty of the church's membership become most painfully apparent.

²¹ *Prisoner For God*, p. 180.

What Bonhoeffer demands of the church is not new methods or new organizations, but a new being in Christ, a new being that is possible only as a consequence of repentance. When this is acknowledged it will also be evident that Bonhoeffer's demand for a non-religious interpretation of the church has nothing to do with new methods (and is emphatically not a mere matter of semantics), but with a new being of the church in the contemporary scene. The church will have to find its way back to its true essence and, having done so, learn anew to understand the gospel committed to it. Then it will again be clothed with authority to proclaim to the world the message of reconciliation by which the world itself will be transformed.

III

The impact of Bonhoeffer's ideas—only a few of the most influential of them have been sketched above—on our younger generation of ministers can only be understood if the contemporary church situation in Germany is kept in mind. (By Germany I mean only West Germany, the Federal Republic.)

Recently the governor of one of the states of our Federal Republic, addressing an Evangelical Academy, had some critical observations to make on the role played by the churches in the life of the Republic:

It cannot be denied that the churches play an extraordinary role in our society. They are respected and held in esteem among us to a degree that would scarcely have seemed possible prior to 1945 . . . At the same time, however, we are all aware that this extraordinarily powerful position of the churches in society is not due to a correspondingly strong and pervasive Christian faith. We should be blind indeed if we did not observe that the overwhelming majority of our people have been inwardly secularized. Only a small minority, an almost insignificant minority, live in faith and by faith. The important influences exerted in our time on society by the churches stem from the social power of ecclesiastical organizations, comparable to that of unions, and not from a living Christian faith . . . I have the impression that in this connection the churches often do not escape the peril to which every association possessing power is exposed, namely, the peril of pursuing the expansion of institutional power for its own sake.²²

²² H. Kopf, "Zum Verbandscharakter der Kirchen," *Informationsblatt* (1949), pp. 343 f.

For a representative of the state with the rank of Governor to express himself on the role of the churches in the Federal Republic in this critical fashion is probably without precedent. In this instance it must also be remembered that a politician is speaking who is unquestionably well-disposed toward the church and that his comments were made on "church terrain," that is to say, in an Evangelical Academy. Therefore the concern he expresses must be taken all the more earnestly.

There is an obvious misapprehension abroad in the Federal Republic concerning the place of the church in public life and the participation of its citizens in the life of the church. To judge from their façade and their public acceptance, the evangelical churches have a position today in the Federal Republic such as they probably never enjoyed before and had never dreamed of possessing. In the most varied ways they are accorded privileges and granted assistance by the state, beginning with financial subvention, including the exemption of ministers and candidates for the ministry from military service and the legislation of special legal protection against defamation and public criticism, and extending to the provision of religious instruction in the schools. Yes, the churches exert an influence and command a respect far beyond these limits, in areas that lie outside the jurisdiction of courts and legislatures. But to judge from the activities of their members and their missionary outreach they have receded to the periphery of German life. Ninety-five per cent of the West German population belong, it is true, to some church, but the average attendance on a Sunday at a service of worship amounts to less than five per cent. Furthermore, the overwhelming majority of that ninety-five per cent, although they are baptized, confirmed, and married by the church, will be buried by it, and (with or without complaint) regularly pay the taxes that the state collects for the church, in other respects have little or no interest in or contact with organized religion, despite the fact that all children receive religious education in schools until they reach their eighteenth year, and in addition are given a two-year course of instruction in preparation for confirmation. It must also be noted that the small number of people really active in church life are drawn in the main from certain limited sociological strata and population blocs. They are predominantly people of the former middle class, and they come to a great extent from definite age groups, older folk and the very young. Workers in industry and in commerce, members of the executive and managerial classes, and women in the professions are almost completely without

active church relation. That is to say, those who participate in the life of the church today consist almost exclusively of men and women who are no longer engaged in, or have little connection with, the industrial activities of production and distribution. The closer modern man is related to the structural transformation of our society, the less is his contact with the church.

The full dimensions of this development are obscured, however, by the role the church plays, or seems to play, in public life. It is probable that the adjective "Christian" has rarely become so hackneyed in common parlance as it is today. It is in widespread use as an attribute of West German bourgeois patriotism, as an anti-East German and anti-socialistic battle slogan, and as a vote-catcher in the rough and tumble of politics. It is therefore not at all surprising that a state and a society that lay claims in this sense to be pre-eminently Christian should accord an appropriate place of honor to the institution that asserts monopolistic rights to the attribute, viz. the church. For this reason it is all the more a matter of concern that the church should so readily accept this place of honor as a matter of right. This in fact it does, and even battles for this place of honor with the postulate that it is entitled to public recognition appropriate to God's Word. In making such a claim, however, it remains a question whether the church has not perverted the rightful claim of the Word of God to public recognition into an unwarranted claim to public recognition on its own part. The fact that state and society tolerate the church on a grand scale does not mean that the church need be hindered in any way in carrying out its commission or made oblivious of its tasks. But it is a matter of concern if the church thinks that its existence is endangered if it is not accorded a place of privilege. The danger, on the contrary, is acute "that the salt will lose its savor if the church considers that it is to be understood and its interests promoted in light of principles derived from popular philosophy, sociology, and the world of business; if it assumes on its part that the atmosphere of this positive tolerance is a normal climate ordained of God."²³

The fact that the privileged position that the church enjoys today in the Federal Republic is something that cuts both ways has recently been pointed out by the Tübingen theologian Hermann Diem.

We now have a church that, like Atlas in the ancient saga, thinks that it has to bear the world on its shoulders and that

²³ Karl Kupisch, *Protestantische Perspektiven* (Berlin: Käthe Vogt Verlag, 1957), p. 50.

sinks under this burden, having forgotten the while that God himself by his Word proposes to bear and sustain it. And what in the meantime has become of the claim of the Word of God to public recognition that it had been our purpose to advance? In the Third Reich we tried to prevent ourselves as the church from being thrust into a ghetto. Now we sit in a golden cage, in the bright floodlight of public recognition, not only tolerated, but so ostentatiously accorded the highest respect and undergirded by public recognition on so grand a scale that we can effect almost any expansion of ecclesiastical machinery. The only difficulty is that we cannot get out of this golden cage. That would be to break the rules of the game that govern this ultra-Constantinian harmony of church and world. We are freely permitted to preach moral sermons out the window; sermons that will no longer disturb anyone; sermons on fashions, on the observance of the Lord's Day, on human depravity; sermons that are actually in demand, for they encourage us in the good conscience that we are not mere materialists. But actually to *disturb* this harmony is not permissible, for in the last analysis our task is only to give retroactive Christian sanction to what state and society do anyway.²⁴

Critical voices calling for a renewal of the church are often heard, and there are various attempts at renewal and efforts in quest of new forms of congregational life and new methods of "communicating with people." It would be incorrect to imply that German churchmen are content with the status quo. The proposal that is advanced in most instances, however, is that of a "cell" community that will make an occasional foray into the world, there to form new "cell" and "action" groups (Christian labor unions, Christian industrial associations, and the like). It is the fate of such action groups that they enter at once into competition with all other possible groups and then, as in the case of the church at large, become isolated in their own spheres and involved in a fateful struggle for power. They may succeed in extending the area of the church's influence, but they do not transcend sectoral being and sectoral thinking. The reactionary tendencies of these efforts at renewal of the church become also evident in the life of the Christian community itself, in which renewal threatens more and more to become a mere "revival of ancient church customs." These efforts are not reactionary be-

²⁴ Hermann Diem, "Versäumte Chancen der Kirche?" *Politische Verantwortung*, 12, 1950.

cause they are concerned with the revival of ancient traditions (there are positive possibilities in such a revival!), but because they fail to bring forth any missionary drive; they do not liberate the church from its ghetto-like confines, but encourage it in an even greater introversion and allow it to forget its mission in the world. An increasing denominational obduracy and a resuscitation of denominational differences and tensions among our churches (and this at a time of growing ecumenical understanding!) are further phenomena of reactionary thinking. Karl Kupisch, the Berlin historian and theologian, has put the matter with his customary incisiveness as follows:

The great to do, for example, over whether this or that church possesses the correct creedal formula, the only formula entitled to legitimate recognition; whether it is permissible to alter the syntax or change the punctuation of the catechism; whether this or that liturgical formula is the proper address to the deity; how clergy and laity are to be decently related to each other; these may be very important and no doubt also exciting problems of internal church administration. But when such concerns can be pursued with persistent earnestness as the most pressing task of the times while men without, for whose sake the church exists, in frantic anxiety and in senseless rage tear each other limb from limb, then the light of the church flickers very low. On the other hand it flames too brightly, flares up so that it dazzles and causes the eyes to smart, when the church—distinguished in ways understood by church officialdom from the mere body of Christian people—represents itself as an effective hierarchy, tolerated cheerfully or unhappily by the powers that be in the world; a hierarchy that, as a sort of board of managers, directs the Divine Comedy from the box seats of privilege.²⁵

Concerning the church of his time Bonhoeffer says: "During these years the Church has fought for self-preservation as though it were an end in itself, and has thereby lost its chance to speak a word of reconciliation to mankind and the world at large."²⁶ These words apply even more directly, it may be, to the church of our day. To be sure, the church is ready enough with resolutions on current issues, whether it be nuclear warfare, social reform, or German reunion, but its words have no real resonance. Quite apart from the fact that the declarations are not binding, they lack what alone would make them genuine in the estimate

²⁵ Kupisch, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

²⁶ *Prisoner For God*, p. 140.

of the world: direct engagement and participation in the matters about which pronouncements are issued. (Only minority groups, much vilified minorities, appear ready today for that!) The church lacks the authority to speak, since it has not established title to authority by involvement. Therefore its words die away and the world pays them no heed. (An anecdote of a laborer who had withdrawn from the church may illustrate this. Asked by one of his fellows, "Don't you believe in God?" he replied, "Of course I do, but *not* in his ground crew!") In overlooking the fact that it is limited and provisional and in concentrating on self-preservation rather than on self-sacrifice, the church disavows its own Lord. By shutting its eyes in its passion for expanding power and increasing pomp to the reality of the world in which it is set, the church becomes blind to the real presence in it of its Lord.

IV

The attempt to bring about a renewal of our church will remain a vain endeavor as long as we believe we can achieve our goal by means of new ways and new methods. We must grasp the truth that there is only one way of renewal open to us, a way that leads through repentance to a new being, a being in Christ in the world. And this way pries us out of our churchly self-complacency and points us to the man in the world for whom God in Christ became man and went to the cross, for whom he took the world upon himself. We must be ready to be led by him along this way, the way of our Lord, and with him to live and to suffer in the world. And this can only happen if we identify ourselves with man as he is in this our world, if we take him seriously as he is.

The question concerning Christian being today is the question concerning society and its various orders, for man can be understood, not as an abstraction, but only within the context of his social relationships. A man exists as a part, as a unit, of society. As a social creature he is inextricably involved in social institutions, and we must be aware of their character if we are to inquire about Christian being, for they determine what is man's essential being. Man must live in the institutions created by his society, something that can happen only as he adapts himself to them so far as possible and conforms to their patterns. More than that, they determine the relationships and contacts of human intercourse, its purpose and its circumscription; they determine a man's ways of behavior and whether he makes a success or a

failure of his life. Their autonomy and their delimitation of individual initiative have a decisive effect on man's behavior, for social pressures for conformity do not take the individual into consideration.

Bonhoeffer has characterized the current preaching of religion as essentially metaphysical and individualistic.

Neither of these [approaches] is relevant to the Bible message or to man of today. Is it not true to say that individualistic concern for personal salvation has almost completely left us all? Are we not really under the impression that there are more important things than bothering about such a matter? (Perhaps not more important than the matter itself, but more than bothering about it.)²⁷

These comments expose the pitiable poverty of present-day preaching. In spite of deeper insights into the contemporary situation, it moves in ruts of earlier theological reflection. Its dogmatic edifice is built on man as an individual and on his personal salvation. In relation to these matters, all other questions are secondary. But such a theology does not do justice to man's social relationships. It thinks of man only in terms of person-to-person categories. It overlooks the fact that man is forced by the institutions of society into a social role from which he cannot extricate himself. Such preaching does not touch modern man, since it addresses him as though he were independent of social conditioning. It leaves him without an answer to questions about his true being. Basically such preaching assumes with older ways of thinking that there are two spheres, the spiritual and the secular. Of these only the former, the spiritual, is of any importance to it. The other, the secular sphere, is only a place of testing.

The ethic associated with this way of thinking is by no means an ethic of escape, of world denial. On the contrary, it expressly repudiates all escape ethic as a rejection of the responsibility with which God has confronted man. It can even summon man in explicit terms to a secular mission. (Even the church can be so summoned.) This is then interpreted as *vocatio*, as the Christian's calling. But the world remains the "other sphere," the sphere of the secular. Man is placed in the world, to be sure, but the secular orders are irrelevant, irrelevant to his personal salvation, for man under any circumstances can lead a life well-pleasing to God. The shaping of this world according to God's design is the Christian's task only in so far as in undertaking to

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 125 f.

do this his being-in-Christ is subjected to test. 'The world is the temporary proving ground of man's eternal soul.

But this ethic breaks down, necessarily breaks down, whenever it attempts to deal with human problems that have their origin in the ordering of society. It stands baffled and helpless in the presence of the urgent questions of our time, whether on economics, automation, the cold war, or nuclear armament. Its only way out is to appeal to the civil courage of the individual, but this appeal makes an exorbitant ethical demand, since it leaves man alone in his decisions. The poet Bert Brecht in his plays has repeatedly pilloried this breakdown:

The First God: *Good-by, then, Shen Te! Be good to yourself!*

(They turn to go, and then wink at each other.)

Shen Te (anxiously): *But I'm in a muddle, O Luminous One!*

How am I to be good to myself when everything is so dear?

The Second God: *We're sorry we can't do anything about that. We can't meddle in matters of economics.*²⁸

If the passivity of the church and of the Christian faith is derided by some (in the instance above, by the Marxist Brecht), others (e.g. Christian Democratic defenders of the economic system of the Federal Republic) try in self-defence to confine the church to its "golden cage":

The churches are not only at liberty to attack human irresponsibility, money madness, lack of consideration for others, the misuse of positions of power for purposes of exploitation, and exaggerated evaluation of material things; it is their right and their duty. In doing so, however, they are not really criticizing the neo-liberal economic system, but only its abuses. The truth is that they form a common front with the neo-liberals, who are always pointing out, insistently pointing out, that the social goals of our economic system are still far from being fully realized.²⁹

No doubt the latter comment is a very polite device for keeping the church in a cupboard (don't disturb the sleeper with any unnecessary commotion!), but the entire paragraph is also an appalling revelation of our failure as a church.

It is certainly not our task as the church of Jesus Christ to preach or start a crusade for any social or economic program. However, when we give blanket sanction to all established orders

²⁸ Bert Brecht, "Der gute Mensch von Sezuan," *Stücke* (Berlin: Surkamp Verlag, 1957), p. 231.

²⁹ W. Frickhoffer, "Das christliche Gewissen und die soziale Marktwirtschaft," *Junge Wirtschaft* 2, 1960.

by our embarrassed—or deliberate—silence, we fail in our task. It is our obligation in the world to participate in the name of Jesus Christ in the life and suffering of the man who is subject to the law of the economic order, and not only of the economic order, but of all social orders and institutions. It is our obligation to sacrifice ourselves for and to identify ourselves with the man who is caught in and threatened by these institutions for the sake of the sacrifice Christ made and the involvement he accepted. We must learn at long last that the orders of our society are not ethically neutral, nor have they ever been, for they always involve persons. It is less possible today than it has ever been to exclude this question from the area of our Christian responsibility by limiting ourselves to an unprogrammatical love for our neighbor. Because it overlooks the actual situation in which our neighbor finds himself, such an ethic of irresponsibility frequently lacks relevance. In any case it is ineffective, for it does not take into consideration the institutional realities in which our neighbor stands and from which he cannot escape. It is no longer possible to express love for our neighbor in terms of a spontaneous, improvised Good Samaritanship, an unprogrammatical fellow feeling. It must be related in its practical application to the social forces and institutions with which man today is inextricably involved. Therefore we must oppose those institutions on his behalf whenever he is threatened by them. We must identify ourselves with him whenever he is treated as a mere cog in a machine and robbed of his true humanity, and co-operate in the creation of social institutions that recognize his worthfulness and make possible his being as part of a genuine community. This will not happen in the pulpit on Sunday morning or come into being as a result of a resolution of bishops or of a Synod, for it is not a matter of preaching a social gospel, but of *social preaching* of the gospel. The preacher's task is to mobilize the congregation for this service in the world, a mobilization for active service in the world with its lowly Lord, who is already there.

The present-day institutional structure of the church and its congregations is one of the greatest hindrances to an effective ministry on behalf of Jesus Christ. It conforms basically to what was normative and functional in a pre-industrial society, in which a man lived and worked in the same community and where his activities were geographically restricted. The church of today ministers, at least nominally, to man in the community in which he lives. But he carries on only a part of his activities in this "bedroom" suburb. His working hours and much of his leisure are

spent outside its bounds. Modern man is "at home" in various places. Consequently the church's message cannot be restricted to one of them, especially when the one for which it may have relevance is not really decisive in his living. When it is so restricted, the church fails to touch modern man at the point of decisive encounter. It leaves him alone in those situations—existential situations—in which questions of true being must be faced, and the more so the more intimately he is involved in the industrial process of production and distribution. The emigration of industrial workers, technicians, men of managerial rank, and women engaged in professional activities from our churches is a direct consequence of the church's failure to speak to their needs. For such a person the church has become an institution with relevance only to a segment of his living, a segment that has no vital connection with other segments, with work, leisure, politics, family life, and so forth, and therefore is no longer of any importance for his daily life and his daily decisions. He comes into contact with it only when he is automatically billed for church taxes and otherwise only at a few high points of his life, baptism, confirmation, marriage, burial—occasions that for him are extraordinary rather than normal. His everyday life, the area of his living where he does his work, spends his leisure, and functions as a consumer, is not touched by the church. Here other factors come into play that are not affected by the gospel of reconciliation.

Our task, however, is not to draw these people in hectic activity into the church and thus widen the segment of their life that the church touches; not to put the church into competition with other concerns that play a role in their everyday life. Quite apart from the fact that such an extension of the role of the church could only be achieved at the expense of other segments, of family life, reflection, leisure, etc., it is not our task to clear an area for Christ in the world and against the world. The area that Christ claims is the *whole* world, the *whole* man in all the relationships and expressions of his being. And so our task is not that of dissolving the existing parochial organization and reforming congregations according to some sociological pattern (industrial parishes and the like), but of leading our congregations out of their self-complacent and self-imposed limitations into the world with all its multiplicity and variety of being. The congregation that lives only for itself cannot be the vehicle of God's reconciling Word for the world. To fulfill this function it must be prepared for a being-in-the-world. It is not summoned to a being-for-

itself but to a being-for-others—summoned to that end not by the world but by its Lord Jesus Christ. As Christ gathered his “little flock” about his Word and Sacrament, so he also scattered it by sending it out for service in and to the world. The true being of the church in its dispersion will consist in its solidarity with the world, by which through its members it works within the existent orders and participates in the life of men under these orders in the “work of the just.” Its concern in this commitment is not with the attribute “Christian,” for these orders are not to be Christianized. It is rather with involvement with man in meaningful collaboration. When the church responds to this summons to a being in the dispersion with a glad and ready “Yes!” its life as a gathered community will also be renewed and it will regain the authority to proclaim God’s reconciling Word to the world. The gathered and the dispersed community—both belong together and the one determines the other. The one is likewise meaningless without the other. Without the other, the gathered church would become a community of hypocritical worshipers of its own image, and the church of the dispersion would lose itself to the world and, instead of denying itself in the name of Jesus Christ, would deny Christ.

V

In recent years in Germany there has been a whole series of experiments, bold attempts at breaking out of the church’s colorless uniformity into a new existence as the church of Christ in the world. Whatever way may be taken cannot be an easy one, for in many respects the terrain in which we find ourselves is new and unexplored and we must learn slowly and hesitantly to walk on it. There has been some sniping from an occasional ecclesiastical ambush, for the attitude of our church and its leadership ranges from hearty approval over suspended judgment to outright hostility. But those who are engaged in these experiments know themselves to be called and sustained by him who came before and for us into the world and calls us to his discipleship.

One of these experiments is the work of the Gossner-Mission in Mainz-Kastel. This experiment, singled out as representative of many, is controlled by the question: How can Christ take form in the life of our industrial society? It began twelve years ago when Pastor Horst Symanowski, commissioned by the Gossner-Mission, came to Mainz, found that the few churches in this

industrial region that had not been destroyed by the war were empty, and went where men were, into one of the factories. He worked for years in this factory and shared the life of his fellows, not for any "solidarity of grimy hands" but for the solidarity that Christ creates. From these beginnings, the work of one man, has grown today an inclusive undertaking that brings together ministers and laymen, labor unionists and entrepreneurs, sociologists and economists—men and women out of the most diverse areas of life—to wrestle with the insistent issues of our life and of the form of our society.

This undertaking has created both a new message and a new fellowship. Six years ago, when Symanowski introduced it to the Synod in Espelkamp in a report on "The Church-alienated Individual in our Industrial Society," the Evangelical Church in Germany took official notice of its work for the first time. As a follow-through Symanowski, in conjunction with the Evangelical churches, founded a "Seminar For Church Service in Industry" as a bridge between scientific theology, traditional churchmanship, and a self-conscious industrial society. To this semiannual seminar come younger ministers of various evangelical churches in the Federal Republic who make themselves familiar with the questions and problems of our industrial society, are employed for a period as shift workers in the factories, and take part by personal experience in the new message and fellowship of the Gossner-Mission. These ministers, men who for the most part have already spent a shorter or longer time in a factory during their term of study and have been working in a congregation, go back to their churches to put their experience to good use for the church in a pastorate or in some specialized ministry. The experiences and perspectives that accrue from taking part in this seminar—a privilege the author himself has enjoyed—are reflected in this essay. Perhaps an extract from a report of participants in the seminar may make an added contribution:

Our industrial society does not demand of the church new methods of doing its work, but a new being as the people of God in the world. The church exists only in the encounter of the gospel with the world. It becomes aware of its peculiar mission to the world when its members participate in the activities of such secular organizations as labor unions, company directorates, manufacturers' associations, state welfare agencies, and the like. The more complete this participation, the more it takes place incognito, the more Christian it will be.

We dare not rest content with "bringing social partners on opposite sides of the fence into communication with one another." On the contrary, for man's sake we must put into explicit question such politico-industrial tabus as incentive reward, property control, and the hierarchical direction of industry and commerce. The church dare not restrict itself to binding up the wounds of those who have been sacrificed to the structure of modern society or giving them Christian burial. On the contrary, it is bidden today to create possibilities of making these structures more responsive to human values and therefore of changing them. And out of this arises the question of a new social ethic, one that takes its departure from the postulate that Christ seeks to break through the limitations imposed on man by social structures and to set us free to create new forms of community living.

To speak of the lordship of Christ over society in terms of the second Barmen thesis³⁰ is unfruitful as long as the church through its members does not engage in this collaboration and in doing so give itself in sacrificial devotion to the world.

In this undertaking the church does not attempt to legislate for the world according to its own presuppositions. It must not even claim to possess the final formulation of truth. On the contrary, if it is to remain the church, or more exactly, if it is to become the church, it must listen to the call for help, mute or clamorous, of the suffering world. For it is not we who have to bring Christ into the fallen world or to bring the fallen world back to Christ; HE purposes to reveal to us his suffering and vitalizing presence in the secularized work-a-day world. As long as we do not take secularized man seriously as our brother, that is to say, as the man with whom Christ is already identified, to whom he calls us (Matt. 25:40), we expose ecclesiastical passion for power and betray the gospel. We show contempt for the brother of Christ when we treat him, after the fashion of the industrial world, as the object of the church's message and mission. As long as we do not reckon with the fact that secularized man has

³⁰ As Jesus Christ is God's assurance of the forgiveness of all our sins, in like earnestness he is also God's mighty claim to our whole life; through him we are joyously liberated from the godless bonds of this world for free and thankful service to his creatures. We repudiate the false doctrine that there are areas of our life in which we are to acknowledge not Jesus Christ but other lords, areas in which we do not need his justification and sanctification. (From the declaration of the Confessional Synod of Barmen, 1934.)

a mandate from Christ to us, we are acting arbitrarily in our mission to him and are disobedient to Christ's commission. Jesus himself listened to the plea of the pagan Syrophenician woman; yes, he even learned obedience from her (Matt. 15:27). We are not commissioned to inveigle workers into our existing congregations, nor are we as the church to organize and manipulate congregations of neo-Christians (so-called "paracongregations"), but we are to render assistance and wait in the hope that in the fallow land of an industrial society new congregations may grow out of the soil of mutual responsibility and shared suffering. The common life of these newly created congregations, as well as the forms of their worship, will take shape at their initiative, not ours.

Preaching can no longer be the monopoly of an individual. God's Word will confront us as we engage in *common* quest for help and direction.

No longer will an individual make intercession for the congregation. Rather, intercession will become the common carrying to God of the concern of men for and for the sake of one another.

Sacrament will be transformed from an act by which the individual is "edified" into a point of departure for and a sign of the brotherhood of those who have assembled.

The minister will no longer be a spiritual guardian, but will become a partner in the proclamation annunciated by the members of the congregation.

The church will discover the authority of the Word that it seeks by participating in the life of the godless and by sharing in the suffering of Christ with man in his dereliction.³¹

Three years ago the delegates to the General Synod of the United Evangelical Lutheran Churches of Germany drafted the following as one of its theses for a missionary church:

Since the church has been freed for service by the love of Christ, it is compelled to share in the love of man, the self-denial, and the suffering of its Lord. This love forces us to identify ourselves with man. It channels boldness and imagination into new outlets. It qualifies for service rather than for mastery.³²

And two years previously the Synod of the Evangelical Church in Germany had made the following theological declaration:

³¹ "Wo ist der Mensch?" *Die Mitarbeit*, 5, 1959.

³² The seventh of twenty-two theses of the General Synod of the United Evangelical Lutheran Churches of Germany in "Die missionarische Kirche," June 6, 1958.

Whenever it thinks that it dispenses the Word of God by means of its ministry and its liturgy, its dogma and its politics, instead of serving it in all these . . . the gospel calls the church to repentance. The gospel frees us, self-seeking men that we are, for a new life of man with man, and also lets us grope after just and humane forms for our life together in social and economic relationships.³³

These statements deserve attention in view of the situation of the church in Germany today. They witness to the truth that even the church at large in Germany is beginning to comprehend its contemporary task and commission. They also give encouragement to those minority groups who, on behalf of the whole church, are undertaking to fulfill its commission by allowing themselves to be drawn into the service of Christ in the world.

VI

This essay has attempted to indicate the influence Bonhoeffer's theology has had on the thinking of the younger generation of ministers in Germany. His influence on our thinking has differed in degree and in impact according to the individual. It has also been apparent in other ways than I have indicated and has taken different forms according to the nature of the tasks that have claimed us. But it was Bonhoeffer who opened our eyes to the reality of Jesus Christ in this our world. His legacy to us, the epigoni, is that, by identifying ourselves with the humble and suffering presence of Christ in the world, we should walk further along the path he broke for us—broke for us above all else by the way he lived.

³³ "Gottes Wort ist nicht gebunden," *Theologische Erklärung der Synode der EKD*, Berlin, June 29, 1956.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Church and the Age of Reason (1648-1789), by Gerald R. Cragg. Baltimore: Penguin Books, Inc., 1961. Pp. 299. \$1.25.

To tell coherently the complex story of the Christian church in a time of transition which "carried men over the threshold of the modern world" (pp. 283 f.) in less than three hundred pages is probably an impossible assignment. That Professor Cragg of Andover Newton has done the job so well in this fourth volume of "The Pelican History of the Church" is tribute both to his skill in selection and organization and to his ability to write in a terse, clear way. Finding that "the fascination of this period lies primarily in the intellectual developments which it witnessed" (p. 13), he has laid heavy stress on the wrestle of the church with developing modern scientific and philosophical thought. He has also chosen to put great stress on Britain in his account, devoting well over a third of the book to it. For American students these emphases may be especially helpful, because an acquaintance of European intellectual developments on the one hand and a knowledge of the history of Christianity in Britain on the other are of especial importance for understanding the development of American civilization. Despite its compactness, the book has refreshing variety within it, for there are interesting sections dealing briefly with liturgy, art, architecture, and music.

The church history of the continent is handled by focusing on the major countries, France and Germany, with very brief treatments of other lands. Yet a glance at the index reveals that a great many significant matters have been touched on in this concise and inexpensive survey interpretation.

Anyone who has tried his hand at this kind of historical writing knows how difficult it is, and no two authors will do it quite the same way. But in a book with the title "The Church and the Age of Reason" and with the thesis that has been suggested in the brief quotations which have been given, why was English church history for the 1660-1714 period dealt with *before* "the watershed of English thought," covering the same span of years? And why a chapter on "the high noon of rationalism" *after* treatments of the church in France and elsewhere in the same period? At least, might not these paired themes have been covered together, if not indeed in reverse order? Yet certainly Cragg's order can be defended, and the product is a convenient and readable book on an important and too often neglected period in the life and thought of the Christian Church.

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The Way of the Ascetics, by Tito Colliander. Tr. Katharine Ferré. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1961. Pp. 123. \$2.50.

Almost all the spiritual classics of the devotional life published in this country come from the Western Church. Augustine's *Confessions*, *The Imitation of Christ*, *Pilgrim's Progress*, along with the names if not the writings of Meister Eckhart, Teresa of Avila, St. Francis de Sales, Augustine Baker, Jean Nicolas Grou, are among the most commonly known to American ministers and lay people. Unfortunately, even these few titles and authors bring a questioning eyebrow to most churchmen.

Rare, indeed, are those students of the devotional life who know any of the writings of the Eastern Church. These are few in number, only three or four readily attainable in English translation, and then not in this country. Best known to American readers is *The Way of a Pilgrim* and *The Pilgrim Continues His Way*, published recently in a single volume as translated from the anonymous Russian by R. M. French.

The core of the teaching of the Eastern Church lies in the *Philokalia*, a collection of writings from the fourth through the fourteenth centuries concerning the way to spiritual perfection. The complete Russian edition of six volumes has been abridged in one volume centering around "The Prayer of Jesus" in *Writ-*

ings from the *Philokalia on Prayer of the Heart*, translated by E. Kadloubovsky and G. E. H. Palmer (published by Faber & Faber, London).

Writings of the Western Church center around the mysticism of the first two centuries, especially as interpreted by Plotinus, and that of three centuries later, by Dionysius the Areopagite. Not so the Eastern Church, which turned from mysticism to the careful practice of "The Prayer of Jesus" ("Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy upon me"). Its purpose is to awaken attention and consciousness, and to train one in their development. Hence, to achieve the art of arts and the science of sciences (as the Eastern Fathers called the highest levels of the spiritual life), one begins with the self and all its possibilities, then moves through silence and quiet in which the Prayer of Jesus is foremost in helping to attain consciousness.

The Way of the Ascetics is one man's witness to the growth in consciousness possible through the practice of the teachings of the Fathers. Tito Colliander, a Finnish layman active in Orthodox Church affairs in Helsinki, has written twenty-six brief chapters revealing his own insight into the truths of the *Philokalia*. These follow the path of discipline, a path most unacceptable to American Christians. Asceticism brings to mind severe austerities, whippings, hair shirts, much fasting. Little of this is advocated by Colliander. Rather, he speaks of the training of the inner spirit, with the disciplines of self-denial necessary for growth.

But his is not the self-denial of the Plotinian mysticism of the Western Church, which would transform man into a spiritual blur. It is the full awareness of the real self through which self-centered desires may be controlled. As he says, "If you cling to your own freedom, you cannot share in true freedom, where only *one* will reigns . . . Do not seek freedom, and freedom will be given you."

So his chapters deal with the transfer of love from the self to Christ, the conquest of the world, inner warfare as a means to an end, obedience, humility and watchfulness, and prayer. Those that treat of the last are among the finest writings in brief on the beginnings of prayer and its fulfillment in Paul's "Pray without ceasing."

Based on the soundest of psychological insights (though the words are not mentioned) and the best of spiritual directions from the Eastern Fathers, this little volume is to be read slowly, marked carefully, and practiced faithfully. Then the reader will become a disciplined saint in this life.

This book is translated from the Swedish by Katharine Ferré, wife of Nels F. S. Ferré. It is another in Harper's Gold-Jacketed Series of spiritual writings of considerable depth.

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Searchlights on Contemporary Theology, by Nels F. S. Ferré, New York: Harper & Bros., 1961. Pp. 241. \$4.50.

Since the distant days when I first persuaded an English publisher that Nels Ferré must be published in Britain, I have heard often the complaint that in full scholarly flight and at full length he is "too difficult for the working minister." If some men say so, some must believe so.

His new book may reduce their number. *Searchlights on Contemporary Theology* is a little library of exciting pieces gathered from many occasions and wrought into a coherent whole that may be broken into manageable parts.

Dr. Ferré says: "Two of my best critics have strongly urged the publication of this material, claiming that I communicate best by this kind of writing." It is true: and one must be glad that he has acted on their advice by bringing out this collection of related articles and lectures. The first three chapters of the book are the most brilliant, incisive and illuminating short discussion within my knowledge of the questions of knowledge, belief and communication. A great deal—in fact most—of what has already been written about "The Problem of Com-

munication" on both sides of the Atlantic might well have waited on the publication of Ferré's first chapter on Myth and Symbol.

Through the length of the book I was reminded, but especially in his three chapters on Faith and Freedom, that Dr. Ferré more than any other Christian in this century except perhaps Unamuno, writes and thinks in an idiom, in a spiritual atmosphere and with persuasive daring that one had begun to suppose were the prerogatives of the religious agnostics who have brought Europe's most sensitive and searching young intellectuals and artists half way to the gospel. (Europe, unfortunately, has no Ferré to take them further.)

Three of five chapters which Dr. Ferré relates under the general heading "New Light on Old Problems" (the first, Natural Theology and the Christian Faith, the second Notes by a Theologian on Biblical Hermeneutics, the third The Bible as Authority) prompt the suggestion that soon he must feel obliged to give us a book that is urgently needed on The Bible as Authority. In the parish we are smothered by Biblical pamphleteers and promoters whose lively power and insight might entice a vulture nigh unto death, and we are battered by the scholarly winds that blow from every quarter. But we are scarcely illuminated so that we may undermine the ignorance of our people or their weighted suspicion that the book is now intellectually indefensible.

Dr. Ferré writes: "Biblical scholars find that God in the Old Testament works in nature—witness the testimony of the Psalms; and in general history—witness God's use of Cyrus." And he writes: "Barth to my knowledge, has never indicated that he sees any organic relation between God's special presence and work in Christ and the realm of creation and history." In the second of these three chapters he says: "The Christian faith should use history as its foundation. The Bible records this history." And "Man's deepest needs come from his total situation within the world and they reflect the nature of the reality which has produced him . . ." In the third he says, "The Bible should not be a problem but a power . . . The Bible is a realistic book." True; and at the moment it is urgently in need of an advocate who is a poet and a philosophical theologian. It has suffered enough from journeymen.

Perhaps he will hear an appeal to give us some extended Notes by a Theologian on The Bible as Authority, bearing in mind that some of us live and work primarily among the religious agnostics inside and outside the Church.

Dr. Ferré has never written with greater force or lucidity that he does in this book.

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Contemporary Pastoral Prayers for the Christian Year, by Nathaniel M. Guptill. Philadelphia: Christian Education Press, 1961. Pp. 151. \$2.50.

This is a superior collection of prayers suitable for the public worship of God in so-called non-liturgical churches. Dr. Guptill has the heart and experience of Christ's shepherd. Out of pastoral concern and a parish minister's knowledge of the testings and defeats, the griefs and crises of his people, he lifts them into the presence of One who is able to do for them what the Christian comrade would do but cannot.

Christian friendship and even Christian insight into the needs of persons is not sufficient qualification to provide written prayers for the use of others. Dr. Guptill possesses other requisite resources: knowledge of the structure of corporate prayer, appreciation of the framework of the Christian Year, and considerable literary grace. Unlike some anthologies there is a thread of continuity throughout these prayers, both of style and theology. Unlike collections of prayers composed by a single author there is little individualism, idiosyncrasy, ineptness. The charismatic preacher does not obtrude as in certain "eloquent prayers." I have borrowed certain prayers of this book and found that they enriched my own

leadership of worship, and I am hopeful that others have also found them worthy vehicles for their own prayer-thoughts. Few collections of pastoral prayers are more comprehensive. As a result, this modestly-priced and well-printed volume should be a much used tool in the minister's workshop. By way of postscript, I was moved by the Farewell Prayer. I am moved to hope the author may be restored to the pastorate of a congregation, and promoted from denominational executive to parish minister!

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Hear Our Prayer: A Book of Prayers for Public Worship, by Roy Pearson. Pp. 174. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1961. \$3.75.

Intended for public use, Dean Pearson's prayers rest for their effectiveness on (1) his knowledge of the intent and content of Public Worship; (2) his gifts with the English language; and (3) his recognition that corporate worship is intensely personal. That public prayer has so little to contribute to current worship is prime evidence that "many churches do not have the goods they advertise." The restoration of meaning to public prayer through the use of language that cuts into something is of a necessity. Dean Pearson prays as he does because he speaks as he does:

"Art thou white or black, our Father" . . . "Save us from hating thee." "How can we exalt the Father if we loathe the child." "Make us blind." "Seal our sight against the different colors of thy creatures." These are prayers a man can *pray*! And the phrases that leap up to be prayed—"that we may not slow thy Kingdom's coming" . . . "no less than impertinent trinkets" . . . "Thou knowest this parish" . . . "Good luck be less upon our lips!" "Thou hast given us life in twisted times."

A prayer for faithfulness in serving (pp. 77 f.) could be sung to any one of half a dozen stately hymn tunes by dropping less than a dozen words.

Familiar, but always without presumption; addressed to that God who is near, the prayers are never chatty; they are lofty, not sonorous.

The prayers intended for the vestry on Sunday morning are less meaningful to me, for here, most times, my praying is a groan. But most vitally present, almost never missing, even in the Invocations, especially in the Invocations, is the throbbing, open element of Confession. These prayers are prayers for use by men who know who and where we are, what it is that troubles us, and from whence our help will come.

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BOOK NOTES

Abingdon. *History of Christianity in the Middle Ages* (\$4.50), by William R. Cannon. The subtitle, "From the Fall of Rome to the Fall of Constantinople," indicates the vast scope of the book, which is stronger in its specific parts and in fresh detail than in its over-all structure. *Companion of Eternity* (\$3.95), by W. Gordon Ross. An effort, written for the general reader, to put concern for persons and their worth into proper perspective in the light of various contemporary developments, especially in psychology. *The Context of Decision* (\$2.50), by Gordon D. Kaufman. Menno Simons lectures at Bethel College, Kansas, which give the theological foundations for Christian ethical decision and are of special interest in showing how a contextualist handles the problem of Mennonite pacifism. *The Ethic of Jesus in the Teaching of the Church* (\$2), by John Knox. A study of the authority and relevance of Jesus' absolute ethic of love. *A Theology for the Social Gospel* (paperback; \$1.75), by Walter Rauschenbusch. A welcome reprint of the great American prophet's Taylor Lectures at Yale (1917). *The Beginnings of Christianity* (paperback; \$1.75), by Clarence Tucker Craig. A reprint of what is still one of the best introductions to a study of the history and theology of the primitive church. *Structures of Prejudice* (\$4.50), by Carlyle Marney. A brilliant discussion of its subject by one of the most able, scholarly, and influential ministers of our time.

Association. *The Modern Reader's Guide to the Book of Revelation* (paperback; 50 cents), by Martin Rist. One of the very helpful "Reflection" books by the professor of New Testament at Iliff and the author of the introduction to and exegesis of the Book of Revelation in Vol. 12 of the *Interpreter's Bible*.

Baker. *Baker's Bible Atlas* (\$6.95 until Dec. 31, '61; then \$7.95), by Charles F. Pfeiffer. Replete with Hammond maps and helpful illustrations, this atlas follows in general the scriptural narrative and closes with a survey of Bible lands today and of modern Biblical archaeology. *History of Interpretation* (\$6.95), by Frederic W. Farrar. A welcome reprint of the author's famous Bampton Lectures of 1885.

Beacon. *From Jesus to Paul* (paperback; \$2.95), by Joseph Klausner. A reprint of a significant interpretation of the development of early Christian theology by the distinguished professor at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. *Christianity Among the Religious* (paperback; \$1.45), by E. L. Allen. An irenic study that stresses "communication" rather than "assimilation" or Hocking's "reconception," by a onetime professor at Newcastle, a onetime visiting professor at Andover Newton, and a theologian currently preaching, writing, and teaching in New Zealand.

Bobbs-Merrill. *Christianity and Modern Man* (\$3.50), by Albert T. Mollegen. A book that lays bare the roots of modern secularism and shows how it arose out of classical Christianity. The author predicts that its insufficiency must be increasingly exposed unless its insights are redeemed in the larger context of Christianity.

Broadman. *Summary of Christian History* (\$6), by Robert A. Baker. A brief history of the Christian church, written from the viewpoint of a Protestant, that should prove useful as a text at the college level.

Doubleday. *The Bible and the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of William Foxwell Albright* (\$7.50), ed. by G. Ernest Wright. A distinguished company of scholars dedicate articles to a great teacher, a brilliant research scholar, and a loved and respected magister. Includes a bibliography of Albright's writings through May, 1958.

Duke University. *War and the Christian Conscience* (\$6), by Paul Ramsey. Princeton's Professor Ramsey undertakes a persuasive, closely argued defense of the limited-war theory for our day and shows that the last word on war and the Christian conscience has not been spoken either by pacifist or Niebuhrian realists.

Eerdmans. *Makers of Religious Freedom in the 17th Century* (\$4), by Marcus Loane. Sympathetic and basically biographical studies by an Australian bishop of four stalwart opponents of Stuart absolutism—Samuel Rutherford, Alexander Henderson, John Bunyan, and Richard Baxter. *Minister's Service Book* for

Pulpit and Parish (\$3.25), by Jesse Jai McNeil. A collection of forms, orders, prayers, and other aids to worship for non-liturgical churches, prepared by an experienced minister and successful pastor. *The Biblical Doctrine of Judgment* (\$2), by Leon Morris. The Warden of Tyndale House, Cambridge, analyzes the Old Testament words and the New Testament ideas which shed light on the doctrine of divine judgment. *Special Revelation and the Word of God* (\$4), by Bernard Ramm. Taking his cue from Abraham Kuyper, the author relates the modern idea of revelation as God's disclosure of himself to what is best in the older tradition of propositional revelation in the hope of effecting a synthesis. *Second Thoughts on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (\$2.50), by F. F. Bruce. A reprint of a study first published in 1956. Critical of exaggerated claims of the influence of the Qumran sect on Jesus and the early church. *The Epistle to the Hebrews* (\$3), by Thomas Hewitt. Latest volume in the avowedly conservative "Tyndale Bible Commentaries." *Paul and His Recent Interpreters* (paperback; \$1.75), by E. Earle Eccles. A very useful discussion of Pauline studies in recent research, with careful documentation. *The Visible Words of God* (\$4), by Joseph C. McLelland. A full and lucid exposition of the sacramental theology of Peter Martyr Vermigli (A.D. 1500-1562) by a young instructor of considerable achievement and great promise in the Divinity School, McGill University. *The Gospel According to St. John, Part Two, 11-21, and the First Epistle of John* (\$4.50), by John Calvin. Tr. by T. H. L. Parker. No. 5 in a new and welcome translation into modern English of Calvin's New Testament Commentaries. (Series ed. by David W. and Thomas F. Torrance.)

Farrar, Straus and Cudahy (Noonday Press). *The Kingdom of God Is Within You* (paperback; \$1.95), by Leo Tolstoy. A reprint of the classic work on Christian perfectionism.

Harper. *The Historic Reality of Christian Culture* (\$3), by Christopher Dawson. England's foremost Roman Catholic historian, now at Harvard, discusses Christianity reacting with culture over the 20 centuries of its history in a brief but comprehensive and weighty volume. *Nihilism* (\$5), by Helmut Thielicke. In this fourth volume of the "Religious Perspectives" series, the famous German theologian and preacher has made a brilliant analysis of the causes and meaning of the sickness of our time and has pointed the way to its cure in Christ. *The Scope of Demythologizing* (\$4.50), by John MacQuarrie. An interpretation and critique of Rudolf Bultmann's theses by a most competent Scottish expositor. *Religion in Primitive Society* (\$5.50), by Edward Norbeck. A text in two parts: (1) a synopsis of features of religious beliefs and practices of primitive societies; and (2) a sociological assessment of the role of religion in human life. *The Mind of Jesus* (\$5), by William Barclay. A series of essays on the life and teaching of Jesus, adapted by its prolific author from contributions to the *British Weekly*. *The Theology of St. Luke* (\$5), by Hans Conzelmann. A very important monograph on its subject by the professor of New Testament at Zurich. *The Theology of the Gospel According to Thomas* (\$5), by Bertil Gärtner. A learned Swedish scholar discusses one of the most remarkable of ancient Christian documents to be recovered in our time—the Nag-Hamadi collection of (largely non-canonical) sayings credited to Jesus. *Kerygma and Myth* (paperback; \$1.45), by Rudolph Bultmann and Five Critics. A reprint of an essay (with appended criticisms) that has stimulated more discussion, debate, and controversy than any other theological contribution of the past fifty years. *The New Testament Background: Selected Documents* (paperback; \$1.65), by C. K. Barrett. A reprint of a valuable source book edited by the professor of New Testament at Durham and the 1961 Hewitt Lecturer at Andover Newton. *Alfred North Whitehead: His Reflections on Man and Nature* (\$3.95). An anthology of selections from the writings of the great Cambridge mathematician and Harvard philosopher, ed. and furnished with a prologue by Ruth Nanda Anshen.

Harvard. *The Idea of Reform* (\$10), by Gerhart B. Ladner. A learned work, elaborately footnoted, on early Christian thought by a Fordham professor of history. Demonstrates that reform was not confined to the 16th century.

Indiana University. *The Three Worlds of Albert Schweitzer* (paperback; \$1.75), by Robert Payne. A discussion of Albert Schweitzer's towering accomplishments in the worlds of music, theology, and medicine.

Macmillan. *Prayers* (\$2.50), by Robert Louis Stevenson. A beautiful printing—with decorations and calligraphy by Hilda Scott—of prayers composed by RLS and used in the course of family worship at the author's home (Vailima) on a Samoan mountaintop.

McGraw-Hill. *The Theology of Christian Missions* (\$6.50), ed. by Gerald H. Anderson. Well-known contributors of divergent theological persuasion and wide geographical distribution cooperate to make this series an important and thought-provoking addition to the literature of world missions.

Oxford. *Manual of Church Doctrine According to the Church of Scotland* (\$2.40), by H. J. Wetherspoon and J. M. Kirkpatrick. 2d ed. by T. F. Torrance and Ronald S. Wright. A stimulating, enlightening, and edifying exposition of doctrine and practice in Scots Presbyterianism. *Letters From a Headmaster's Study* (\$3), by Charles Martin. Wide-ranging and surprisingly warm letters to parents by a perceptive, wise, and balanced Christian gentleman. *The Semantics of Biblical Language* (\$6), by James Barr (Professor of Old Testament at Edinburgh). The bearing of linguistic phenomena of Hebrew and Greek on the interpretation of the Old and New Testaments, with particular attention to the dangers of distorting the evidence. *The Spirit of Protestantism* (\$4.50), by Robert McAfee Brown. An interpretation of Protestantism as a faith that is subject to "constant renewal at the hand of God," by the brilliant young theologian at Union Seminary, October 18, 1961 Greene Lecturer at Andover Newton, and professor-elect of Stanford. *The English Bible* (\$3.75), by F. F. Bruce. A history of translation from the earliest Anglo-Saxon paraphrases to the *New English Bible*.

Rand McNally. *Atlas of World History* (\$5), ed. by R. R. Palmer (Princeton), with contributing editors drawn from among the best specialists in their fields in America. 132 pages of maps in color and in black and white, together with text, illustrating and summarizing world history from the emergence of civilizations to the end of World War II.

Ronald. *Christianity and Its Judaic Heritage* (\$6), by Carl E. Purinton. An excellent survey, with primary source materials printed at the end of each chapter, of the Judaic-Christian tradition from Israel's beginnings to the end of the Reformation Era.

Westminster. *The Interpretation of Scripture* (\$6), by James D. Smart. A consideration of certain theological and historical problems—unity, inspiration, authority, etc.—that the author regards as a necessary prolegomenon to the pursuit and development of Biblical theology and theological exposition. Special attention given to the views of Barth and Bultmann. *Infant Baptism in the First Four Centuries* (\$3.50), by Joachim Jeremias. Tr. by David Cairns. A new volume by the professor of New Testament at Göttingen in the important Westminster "Library of History and Doctrine" series. *Interpreting the Parables* (\$2.50), by Archibald M. Hunter. A brief but very readable and very useful study by the ablest popularizer of New Testament studies in the United Kingdom. *Luther: Lectures on Romans* (\$6.50). Ed. and tr. by Wilhelm Pauck. Vol. XV of "The Library of Christian Classics." Lectures given by Luther at Wittenberg two years before the Ninety-five Theses were nailed to the door of the castle church—i.e. before Luther had broken with Roman Catholicism. Published for the first time in German in 1908 and now presented in a magnificent and definitive English version.

World (Meridian Books). *The Private Devotions [Preces Privatae] of Lancelot Andrewes* (paperback; \$1.65). Tr. with an introduction and notes by F. E. Brightman and including "Lancelot Andrewes" by T. S. Eliot. *The History of Rome* (paperback; \$1.95), by Theodor Mommsen. An account of events and persons from the conquest of Carthage to the end of the Republic. A new edition of selections from the great German historian's 19th century classic.

S. MacL. G.